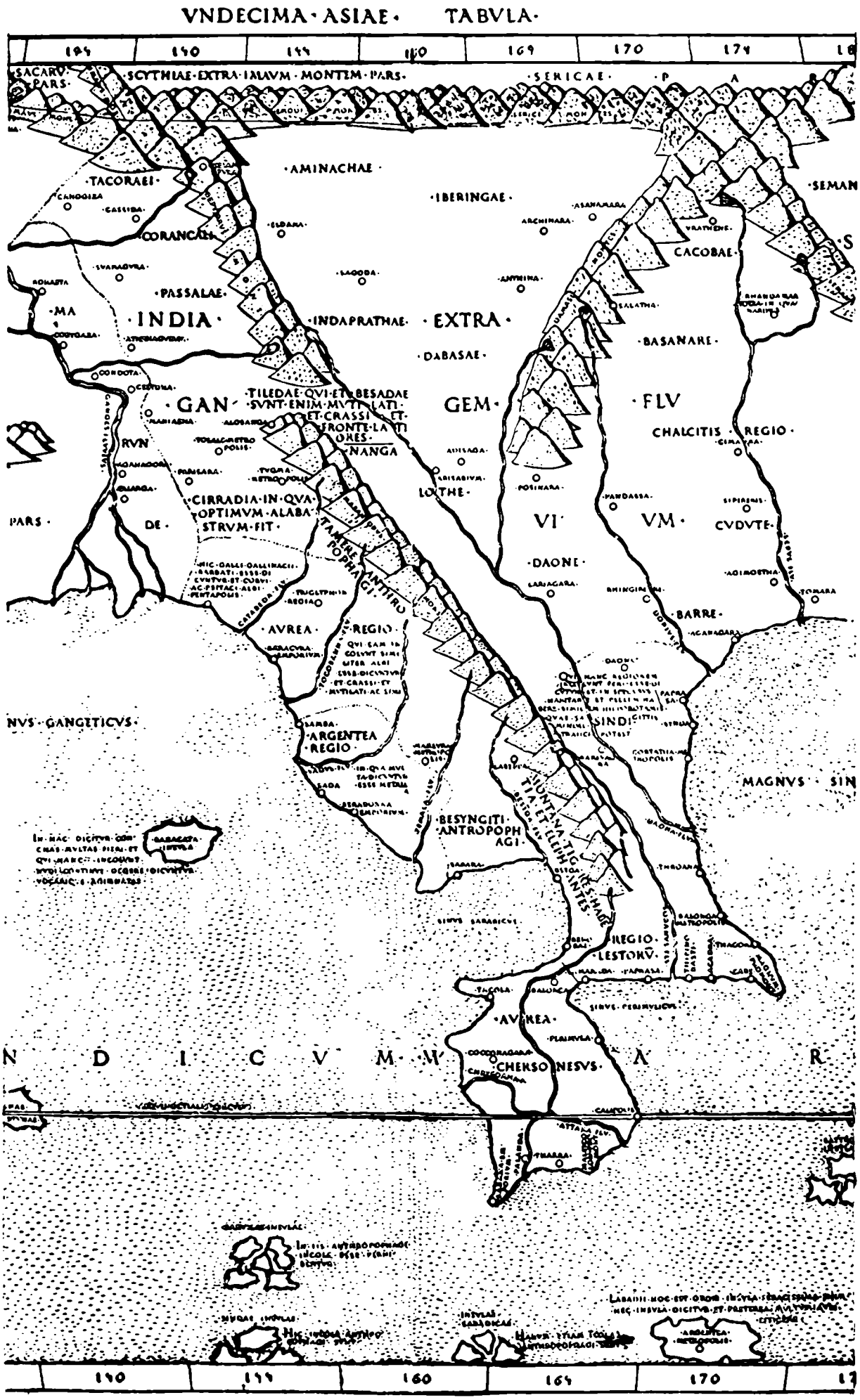
THE GOLDEN KHERSONESE



South-East Asia as depicted in the Rome Ptolemy, 1508.

The GOLDEN KHERSONESE

STUDIES IN THE
HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE
MALAY PENINSULA BEFORE A.D. 1500

BY

PAUL WHEATLEY

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PREFACE

THE authors of the historical geographies written hitherto, from E. A. Freeman to Ralph Brown, have been able to fit their studies into an assured outline of history which they have accepted with confidence. For the Malay Peninsula this has not been possible and I have had to assume responsibility for much of the historical framework without which the changing geography of the Peninsula would be unintelligible. To the north some of France's greatest scholars have devoted themselves to the study of early civilizations; to the south Dutch savants have done much to unravel the complexities of Javanese and Sumatran history; but the Peninsula, lacking an Angkor or a Borobodur, has until recently failed to attract the attention of historians. Yet the circumstances of its position, thrust athwart the sea-route from India to China, render its study no less important than that of Indo-China or the Archipelago for a complete understanding of South-East Asian history.

In Malaya the face of the country is a far less valuable document than in some temperate lands such as Europe or North China. The ravages of climate, insects and moulds and the erosive power of equatorial rainfall combine with a phenomenally rapid deposition of alluvium to obliterate the imprint of man's occupance almost at the moment when he relinquishes his tenure of the soil and go far to thwart the subtlest investigations of the archæologist. There are no features in the Malayan landscape comparable, for example, with the lynchets of the European chalklands, the 'lost' villages and fossilized shots of the English Midlands or the abandoned settlements of eastern Siam, while there are no ecclesiastical or administrative units from this early period to manifest Malay preoccupation with soil and landform such as is betrayed by the shape of the English parish or, from a later date, the seigniories of Lower Canada.

Under these circumstances, where literary records are of paramount importance, it is doubly unfortunate that there should be a complete lack of indigenous written sources before the sixteenth century. The earliest extant work in Malay, the *Sějarah Mělayu*, is attributed to a date no earlier than the middle of that century,

while the *Suma Oriental* of Tomé Pires—the first description of any part of the Peninsula from the pen of an alien even temporarily resident—was written only a few years earlier in 1512–5. In default of local records, then, the historical geographer must rely on gleanings from foreign literatures, among which four yield significant contributions to the Peninsular story. Most extensive is the information to be culled from Chinese histories, encyclopedias, travels and topographies, invaluable evidence which is supplemented from the ninth century onwards by Arab and Persian records. These two sources together provide the main corpus of evidence for the early geography of the Peninsula. Of a much more nebulous character but not without value are the scattered references in Indian writings, while there are also a number of controversial statements in the Classical literatures of the West, but these latter are so ambiguous as regards both date and context that they are included in the following pages only for the sake of completeness. In addition odd scraps of information have come to light in Siamese and Javanese records. It must not be presumed, however, that these bodies of evidence, intractable and confused as they frequently are, can always be mutually reconciled. Rather are they analogous to photographs of a landscape taken from varying positions, and often with different filters, which can be correlated only from external reference points. Within that broad framework the only criterion of successful interpretation is all too often—as in a philosophical system—internal consistency. Moreover, the resulting map is still far too frequently little more than a cartoon. Only occasionally is it possible to fill in minutiae of the landscape within the political outline. Much—perhaps most—of this detailed information about the geography of early times is probably lost but there can be no doubt that further research on the lines pioneered by, say, Van Leur will retrieve something of value to the historical geographer. It is unlikely that all the problems which appear so baffling today will remain permanently insoluble.

Some readers may consider that the text is over-encumbered with quotations from primary sources. They probably agree, as I do, with A. J. P. Taylor, who recently remarked that the proper place for records is a Record Office. But many, if not most, of the texts considered here are controversial and ambiguous to such a degree that I have deemed it necessary to reproduce them in full. Moreover, unlike the volume which Mr. Taylor was reviewing, the

present work does make some pretence to completeness. New records will doubtless come to light in the future, but most of those at present known to refer to the Malay Peninsula are at least mentioned here. For the Chinese, Greek and Latin texts the original is quoted, but I regret that I have not been able to do this for the Arab or Indian sources. Thus this volume is designed not only as an account of the historical geography of the Malay Peninsula but also as a compendium of references. It is my hope that this collection of sources and readily verifiable translations may be of some use to the Malayan scholars who are now coming forward in ever increasing numbers.

The foundation of the historical geography of South-East Asia in the early period is the accurate identification of place-names, but so wide is the gulf between the geography of ancient and modern Malaya that there has been only a tenuous continuity of nomenclature from early times to the present. The versions which we can resurrect from early writings fall into three categories. In the first place there are descriptive names coined by foreign sailors. The *Khrysoanas* River or River of Gold probably belongs to this class, as do also *Shahr-i Naw* (Persian for the New City or Ayut'ia), *Suvarṇadvīpa* or Land of Gold, *Chia-wu-hsü* 假五嶼 or False Five Islands, *Pai-chiao* 白礁 or White Rock, *Chiang-chün mao* 將軍帽 or General's Hat Island and numerous other names. In the second category are those, probably exemplified by *Ch'ih-t'u* 赤土, which were translations of some local word. From their nature these names are less common and, at this distance of time, often difficult to distinguish from those applied by foreigners independently. Third, there is the large class of names which were intended to be true transcriptions of local words. The success with which the name was reproduced varied with the languages concerned and with the linguistic ability of the traveller. Generally speaking, Arabic versions are fairly easily recognizable. Many, such as *Qrā*, Trang and *Kedā*, are either identical with, or approximate very nearly to modern place-names. *Kalāndan* is reasonably close to the present-day form of Kĕlantan, while *Lakāwī* and *Markhī* are easily recognizable as Langkawi and Mergui. *Tiyūmah* for Tioman is rather more difficult.

Owing to the limited number of sounds in Chinese, transcriptions into that language are often less readily identifiable. *Pi-sang* 毘宋 (Amoy Hokkien) is an exact reproduction of the name of an

island off the west coast of Johore, and *Tam-ma-sek* 淡馬錫 (Amoy Hokkien) is very close to *Temasek*, the old name for Singapore, but *Ku-lat-iu Put-tang* 古力由不洞 (Amoy Hokkien) is not a very satisfactory transcription of Pulau Butang. If *chih* 質 is really an attempt to reproduce Malay *sĕlat*, only a Pelliot could have recognized it. Not infrequently these transcriptions are modified either for the sake of assonance, as when Pahang is represented as *P'eng-k'eng* 彭杭, or to rationalize a sound meaningless in Chinese. Thus the characters *Leng-ge-kau-i* 龍牙交椅 not only reproduce the sound of Langkawi but also mean 'dragon-teeth armchair'.

Place-names from Indian sources can seldom be connected with modern forms, though Kĕdah does appear in its Sanskrit *(Kaṭāha)* and Tamil *(Kaḍāram)* versions, while Tamil *Ilaṅgāśōkam* is readily recognizable as a transcription of Langkasuka and *Māyiruḍingam* may well be a representation of the Peninsular name which appears in Chinese as *Jih-lo-t'ing* 日羅亭. More often than not it is impossible to assign a name to any particular category. The Pāli *Takkola* (Greek *Takola;* Tamil *Talaittakkōlam),* for example, may have been a descriptive name meaning the Land of Cardamom or it may have been a transcription of some local word long since lost. The Chinese may have adopted the name Nine Islands from the Malays but they may equally well have coined the phrase independently.

As early as the eighteenth century Arabists were speculating on various aspects of the historical geography of the Malay Peninsula. In the nineteenth century they were joined by Indianists, Sinologists and Classical scholars, so that by the beginning of the present century there had accumulated a considerable body of largely uncorrelated facts. The first scholar to attempt to synthesize this information was Colonel Gerini, who published his *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia* in 1909. The title is misleading for Gerini, far from restricting himself to the Ptolemaic data, rioted widely through such Chinese, Indian and Arabic literature as was then available. His nine-hundred-page miscellany, despite extravagant praise from Professor Nilakanta Sastri and Sir Roland Braddell, can now be regarded only as a magnificent tribute to the author's powers of invention. No one who has worked in the field of early South-East Asian geography can fail to agree with Professor Georges Coedès who, on the book's first appearance, characterized it as 'trop ingénieux pour être toujours convaincant'. Colonel Gerini indeed might well have taken as his device the apologia of Nennius,

the Welsh monk who epitomized his historical method in the celebrated phrase *Coacervavi omne quod inveni.* Of very different calibre is the work of Dato Sir Roland Braddell. Although this author may be criticized for his total reliance on second-hand texts and often inadequate translations (though how many scholars can read more than a fraction of the number of languages required for these studies), and though some may think that his predilection for *a priori* reasoning smacks a little too much of a dated determinism, yet Sir Roland brought to the field of Malayan historical geography a healthy pyrrhonism which uncompromisingly refused to accept the specious linguistic identifications current in the nineteen-thirties. Future students of Malayan history will be immeasurably indebted to Sir Roland for the pioneer work which he has done to illumine the Dark Ages of Malaya. It is unfortunate for us that the War prevented him from carrying his magistral series of papers much beyond T'ang times, though he did append a series of valuable articles, under the unpretentious title 'Notes on ancient times in Malaya', which dealt with some of the more salient topics of later centuries. My debt to Sir Roland will be apparent to anyone familiar with this field of study. Finally in 1944 Professor Coedès published his meticulously documented account of early South-East Asia which incorporated in outline the first complete history of the Malay Peninsula before the coming of the European. Other scholars such as Prince Damrong, J. L. Moens, Dr. Linehan, Dato' Douglas, Professor Hsü Yün-ts'iao and Mr. Han Wai-toon have also made significant contributions which are acknowledged in the following pages.

A word is due here about the principles on which I have compiled the bibliography which, owing to the scattered and widely divergent character of the evidence, occupies an unduly large amount of space. To minimize the already heavy burden of footnotes I have given only abbreviated notices in the body of the text, and reserved full references for the bibliography. There is one exception to this general rule: passing allusions in illustration of some minor point are usually omitted from the bibliography, but the full reference is then incorporated in the text as a footnote. An example will clarify this point. Captain Thomas Forrest's *A voyage from Calcutta to the Mergui Archipelago*, cited on page xix in illustration of eighteenth-century sailing technique, is omitted from the bibliography, as are the explorations of Maxwell, Swettenham,

Lake and Kelsall on page xxvii. On the other hand, W. L. Dale's analysis of surface wind and current directions in the South China Sea, which is of direct interest to all students of early Malaya, is listed in the bibliography. I have also included the chief editions of the primary texts cited in the body of the work, even though they are also described in notes at the end of their respective Parts. In addition I have inserted a few works which, although not cited specifically in the text, should be known to students of this period, together with certain pioneer essays selected for the sake of historical perspective.

During the preparation of this volume, the first draft of which was submitted to the University of London as a Ph.D. thesis, I have discussed its several aspects with numerous scholars whose ideas have been fused insensibly into my own thought, and I wish to place on record my heavy indebtedness to these anonymous and often unwitting helpers. I have also received unstinted help from a number of past and present colleagues. Mr. G. R. Tibbetts of the University of Khartoum kindly allowed me to use his translations of Arabic texts while they were still in typescript, a generous gesture without which I could not have undertaken Part IV. Mr. Ho Kuang-chung, Head of the Department of Chinese Studies in the University of Malaya, allowed me to benefit from his extensive knowledge of Chinese literature and also gave me invaluable help with the translation of obscure passages. To Dr. de Josselin de Jong of the University of Leiden and Haji Zainal Abidin, Head of the Department of Malay Studies in the University of Malaya, I am indebted for Malay translations and for much general advice and information, while Dr. Devahuti, of the Department of Indian Studies in the University of Malaya, read critically the whole of Part III. Professor Hsü Yün-ts'iao, professor of historical geography in the Nan-yang University, and Dr. Wang Gung-wu have also given me valuable assistance from time to time. But the greatest measure of thanks must be reserved for Dr. C. A. Gibson-Hill of Raffles Museum, whose encyclopedic knowledge of things Malayan has saved me from frequent error. I hope that all these scholars who have given so generously of their time and specialized knowledge will accept my sincere thanks. It is fitting that I should also record my debt to the University of Malaya Library staff who have not only obtained an unlimited number of microfilms, photostats and books for me but who have shown a biblical tolerance

of my imperfections as a borrower. I am also indebted to Mr. J. Ngai and Mr. Poon Puay-kee for the skill with which they have drawn the maps, to Mrs. Phyllis Killen for advice about and hours of labour on the index, to the Editor of the *Malayan Journal of Tropical Geography* for permission to quote from 'The Malay Peninsula as known to Arab Geographers' by G. R. Tibbetts, and to Messrs. Routledge and Kegan Paul for permission to quote from *The Travels of Fa-hsien* as translated by H. A. Giles.

Kuala Lumpur,
Hari Kěměrdekaan,
A.H. 1377.

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The Golden Khersonese is one of a series of studies which are being undertaken by the University of Malaya to meet the need for a fully documented history of Malaya.

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INTRODUCTION

'DOWN TO THE GOLDEN CHERSONESE . . .'

THE Golden Khersonese is one of those names like Cathay, Golconda and Ophir whose literary associations have overlaid their historical origins with a crust of legend. Yet the true story of this peninsula is no less intriguing than the rumours and distortions which filtered back to Europe or India or China. Stripped of mythical accretions, the Golden Khersonese appears as a forested, club-shaped peninsula stretching from the extreme south-eastern angle of mainland Asia towards the East Indian Archipelago, thus separating the Bay of Bengal from the South China Sea. If we accept its northern limit as the latitude of Tavoy in 14°N, it stretches south and south-eastwards for a thousand miles to the island of Singapore, only just over a degree north of the equator. The northern half of the peninsula—the handle of the club—is narrower than the southern, with the minimum distance from sea to sea of thirty-five miles at the Kra isthmus. But even at its maximum width in the southern half, the Peninsula is barely two hundred miles across, so that no part of the interior is as much as a hundred miles from the sea. Whereas the northern, isthmian tracts adjoin and partake of the nature of continental South-East Asia, the southern half, which is practically coincident with the new state of Malaya, is better classed both historically and geographically with the island Indies. Numerous islands fringe the Peninsula, most of which have played an important role in the history of navigation in these waters. Stretching for nearly three hundred miles along the west coast of the isthmus is the Mergui Archipelago which, despite the dangers of its currents, tidal races and shifting shoals, was navigated by Arab seamen as early as the ninth century. Farther south are the Puket and Langkawi groups, with the Riau Archipelago less than twenty miles from the southern tip of the Peninsula. Off the east coast, Tioman and its neighbours have been points of landfall and departure for mariners of the China Sea from very early times, while the Rĕdang and Samui groups feature prominently on a Chinese chart dating from the fifteenth century.

Some two thousand years ago the role of the Peninsula was in process of change. Throughout the millenia of prehistoric time it had served as a gigantic causeway over which a succession of cultures had diffused imperceptibly from the mainland of Asia towards the Archipelago, the South-West Pacific and Australasia. During the first fifteen hundred years of the historic period, with which this volume is mainly concerned, this function fell largely into abeyance, and the Peninsula assumed the role of a barrier. This development arose from two circumstances. In the first place the Peninsula was situated almost exactly half-way between the great civilizations of India and China, and as maritime trade developed, so it became an unavoidable coastline for mariners sailing east or west through the Southern Seas, to be circumvented only by a lengthy coastwise voyage or a trans-peninsular portage (Fig. 1).

The second factor tending to emphasize the role of the Peninsula as a barrier was the seasonal nature of the wind circulation over the Indian and China Seas. The broad features of this rhythmic change have been described on many occasions and need only be summarized here. In April the onset of the south-west monsoon is heralded by westerly winds which develop far out in the Indian Ocean and approach the Sumatran coast between the equator and 5°N, while weaker westerlies, originating away to the north-west, cover the northern half of the Bay of Bengal. During May the south-west monsoon advances across the Malay Peninsula, Thailand and Indo-China, at the same time as the South-West Pacific trades push northwards in the region east of 100°E. This régime reaches its peak strength and constancy in July when the southerly winds over the South China Sea attain speeds of as much as thirty knots. In this same month the South-West Pacific trades are experienced even beyond 10°N. During August and September wind forces and constancies slacken and by October the north-east monsoon is developing in the northern reaches of the South China Sea. By January it covers virtually all equatorial South-East Asia except southern Sumatra and Java, which are under a westerly air-stream from the Indian Ocean. The following months see a gradual retreat of the north-easterlies accompanied by a decrease in their strength and constancy. Finally, in April the cycle begins anew.[1] This then

[1] For a detailed month by month analysis of surface wind and current directions and constancy in the South China Sea and Strait of Malacca see Dale, *MJTG*, vol. viii (1956), pp. 1–31.

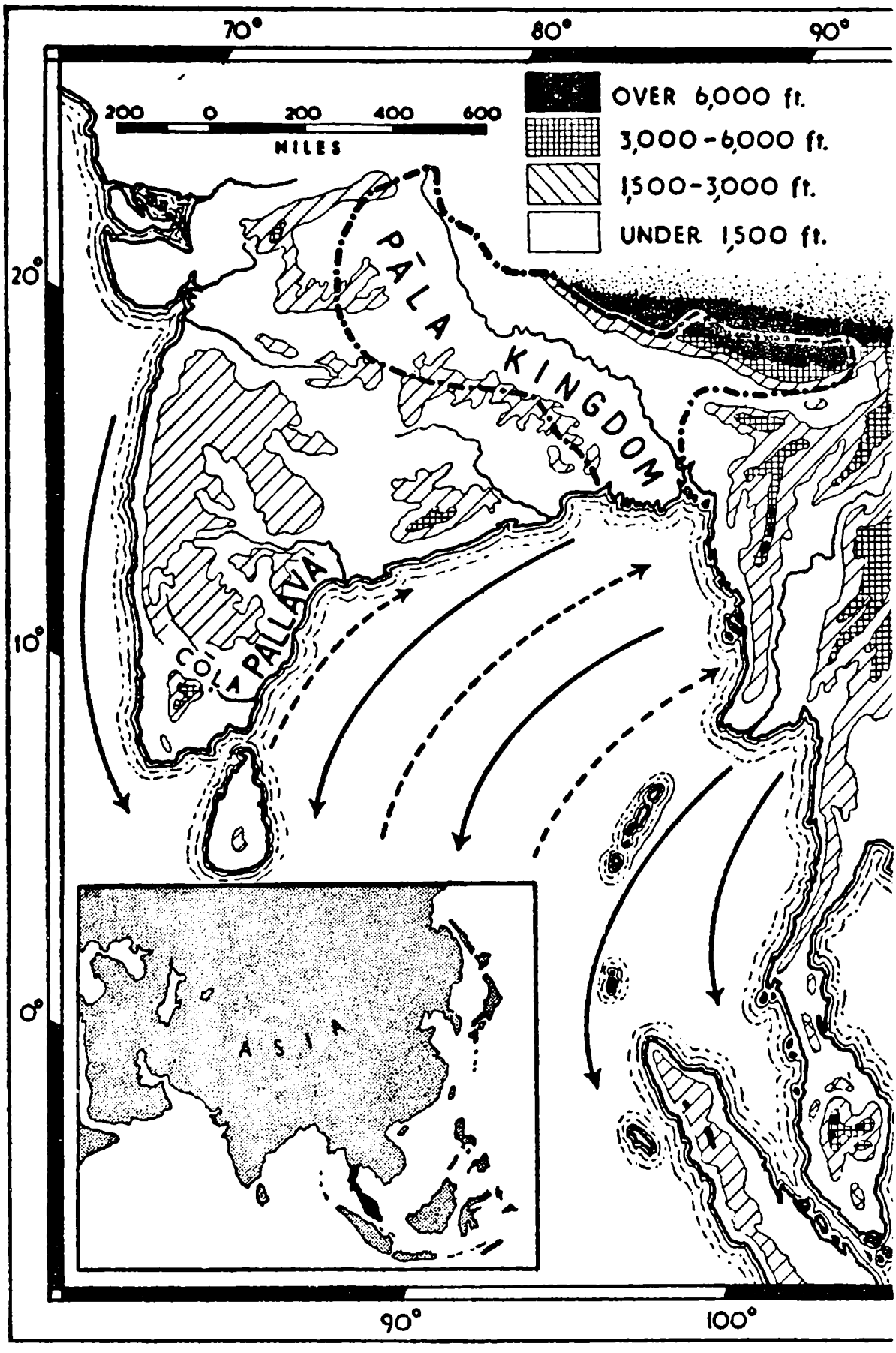
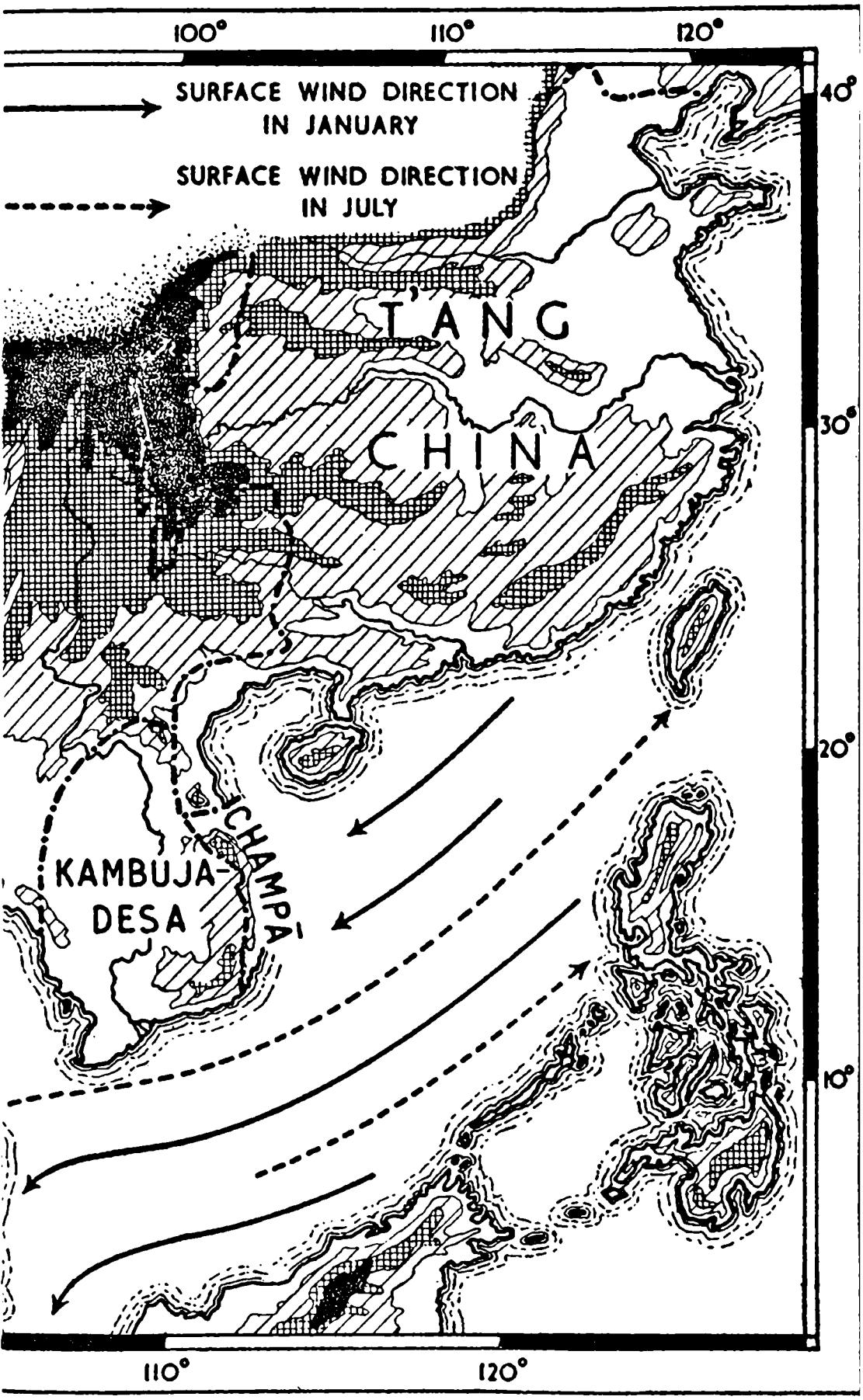


Fig. 1. The position of the Malay Peninsula in relation to



(i) India and China and (ii) the seasonal wind systems.

(facing page xviii)

in outline is the monsoonal wind system which, so long as vessels relied on sail, induced a corresponding rhythm in the movement of shipping in the Indian and China Seas. The fact that ships from India, China or the Archipelago sailed for the Golden Khersonese on one monsoon and returned on the other meant that they had to wait for the change at some sheltered harbour on the Malayan coast. Moreover, when Indian shipping arrived on the north-east monsoon, the junks from China and prahus from the eastern Archipelago were already on their way home and vice versa, so that there was a need for entrepôts where goods could be stored from one season to the next. In the earlier centuries of the historic period these were located in the isthmian tracts of the Malay Peninsula but in later years they tended to develop in the neighbourhood of the Strait of Malacca.

This dependence of communication and trade on the rhythm of the wind seasons, which continued throughout our period and indeed into the nineteenth century, is clearly exemplified in some of the Chinese texts discussed below, notably those relating to the voyage of the Sui envoys in A.D. 607, the adventures of Fa-Hsien in A.D. 413–4 and the journeys of the other Buddhist pilgrims recorded by I-Ching. It is true of course that the dominance of the seasonal winds over shipping in these waters was never absolute. It was nearly always possible to work along the coast against the prevailing wind, while the Strait of Malacca, sheltered from both monsoons, was navigable by sailing vessels at all seasons of the year. The technique of working against the monsoon was the subject of frequent comment in the directories and on the charts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,[1] and in the eighteen-thirties the opium clippers from Singapore began to make Canton against the north-east monsoon. But for all practical purposes, it is no

[1] See for example Capt. Thos. Forrest's book the full title of which is *A voyage from Calcutta to the Mergui Archipelago, lying on the east side of the Bay of Bengal; describing a chain of islands, never before surveyed, that form a strait on that side of the bay, 125 miles in length, and from 20 to 30 miles in breadth; with good mud soundings and regular tides throughout: which strait lying nearly north and south, any ship may work up against the south-west monsoon, and so get out of the Bay of Bengal, when otherwise, she might be locked up for the season* (London, 1792). A good example of a chart bearing information of a similar nature is Laurie and Whittle's *A new chart of the Gulf or Bay of Bengal with part of the Indian Ocean as far as the Line* (London, 1794), on which is inscribed the 'Track of the Bahar, Captn. Hicks, from Madras to Bengal in the contrary monsoon'. Many other similar examples could be quoted in illustration of this point.

exaggeration to say that before the days of steam the movement of shipping in the waters of South-East Asia was at the mercy of the monsoons.

Another important feature of the monsoons is their unequal incidence on the east and west coasts of the Peninsula. The eastern littoral is exposed to the full force of the north-east monsoon and is for mariners a lee shore for nearly half the year.[1] The southern reaches of the west coast, on the other hand, are partially sheltered from the south-west monsoon by the island of Sumatra. In the past historians have sometimes tended to over-emphasize the effects of this disparity between the monsoons, even to the extent of restricting all cultural and economic activity in the pre-European period to the west coast; but the facts indicate otherwise. From the earliest historic times archæology and Chinese records testify to the existence of city-states seated on the east coast of the isthmus. During T'ang times they are found at least as far south as the Patani district (Chapter V), while Kělantan, Trĕngganu and Pahang feature in works from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (Chapters VI and VII). The Ptolemaic corpus too, though of more doubtful value, clearly locates two towns on the east coast (Chapter X). By the early sixteenth century Tomé Pires is listing eleven ports on the east coast as against twelve—or possibly thirteen, if we include Muar—on the west (Chapter XX). Sixteenth century maps of the Peninsula tell the same tale of settlements strung along the coast from Pahang northwards,[2] so that we can only conclude that the idea of an unpopulated eastern littoral is a myth, probably fostered by the fact that European mariners visited that region less frequently than they did the Bay of Bengal or the Strait of Malacca.

The exceptional strategic advantages of the Peninsula during the early period were hardly matched by its intrinsic resources so that the rulers of the city-states which grew up there were seldom able fully to exploit their nodality in regard to South-East Asia. The tectonic skeleton of the Peninsula consists of a series of

[1] Cp. the Malay phrase *musim kuala tutup*, the season when the estuaries are closed.

[2] E.g., Lopo Homem's chart of southern Asia (1546), Desceliers' world charts of 1546, 1550, 1553, Guillaume Le Testu's chart of the Indian Ocean (1555), Gastaldi's *Il disegno della terza parte dell'Asia* (1561), Diego Homem's chart of eastern Asia (1568), Mercator's *Nova et aucta orbis terrae descriptio* (1569), Vaz Dourado's chart of south-eastern Asia (1580).

coulisses, arranged in echelon and in an arcuate form convex westwards. In the narrow isthmian tracts the topography is moulded by a succession of low corridors running between ridges which are set obliquely to the trend of the coasts, so that easily traversable trans-peninsular routes have been channelled towards well-marked foci (Fig. 4). In the southern and broader half of the Peninsula the coulisses develop into a mountain system in which eight subparallel ranges can be distinguished. The main watershed lies nearer the west coast than the east and includes five of the six highest peaks of the Peninsula. Towards the south the coulisses are progressively less emphatic and present fewer obstacles to trans-peninsular communication (Fig. 2). In the northern two-thirds of the Peninsula massive limestones present typical karstic scenery with caves and rock-shelters, swallow-holes and serrated pinnacles. In the isthmian region isolated limestone cliffs, preserved by some accident of denudation not yet elucidated and rising sheer from the ground sometimes for several hundred feet, are characteristic features of the landscape. These mountain ranges, then, constitute the bones of the Malay Peninsula, but the starkness of the skeleton is mitigated to a very considerable extent by a mantle of alluvium which, ranging in width from a few hundred yards to forty miles in parts of the south, extends round the coast in an almost unbroken belt and tongues up the valleys far into the foothills of the central ranges. On such alluvial plains as these grew up the isthmian city-states of the first millenium A.D. (Chapter XIX), but the scattered and discontinuous arrangement of the lowlands prohibited the emergence of a central power controlling the whole area.

Deriving from this structural history of the Peninsula are deposits of two metals which proved of great attraction to merchants from India and the West. In the earliest times the precious and eponymous gold was the lure which drew Indian traders eastwards. The principal deposits of this metal occur in the Raub Series of Carboniferous age, which extends in a belt from Patani and Kĕlantan through western Pahang and eastern Nĕgri Sĕmbilan to Malacca (Fig. 3), that is, through districts accessible by means of some of the largest rivers of Malaya. Gold can also be panned in many Peninsular rivers. Today, although the Peninsula is probably exporting greater quantities of gold than ever before, it does not rank as an important producer; but in the ancient world

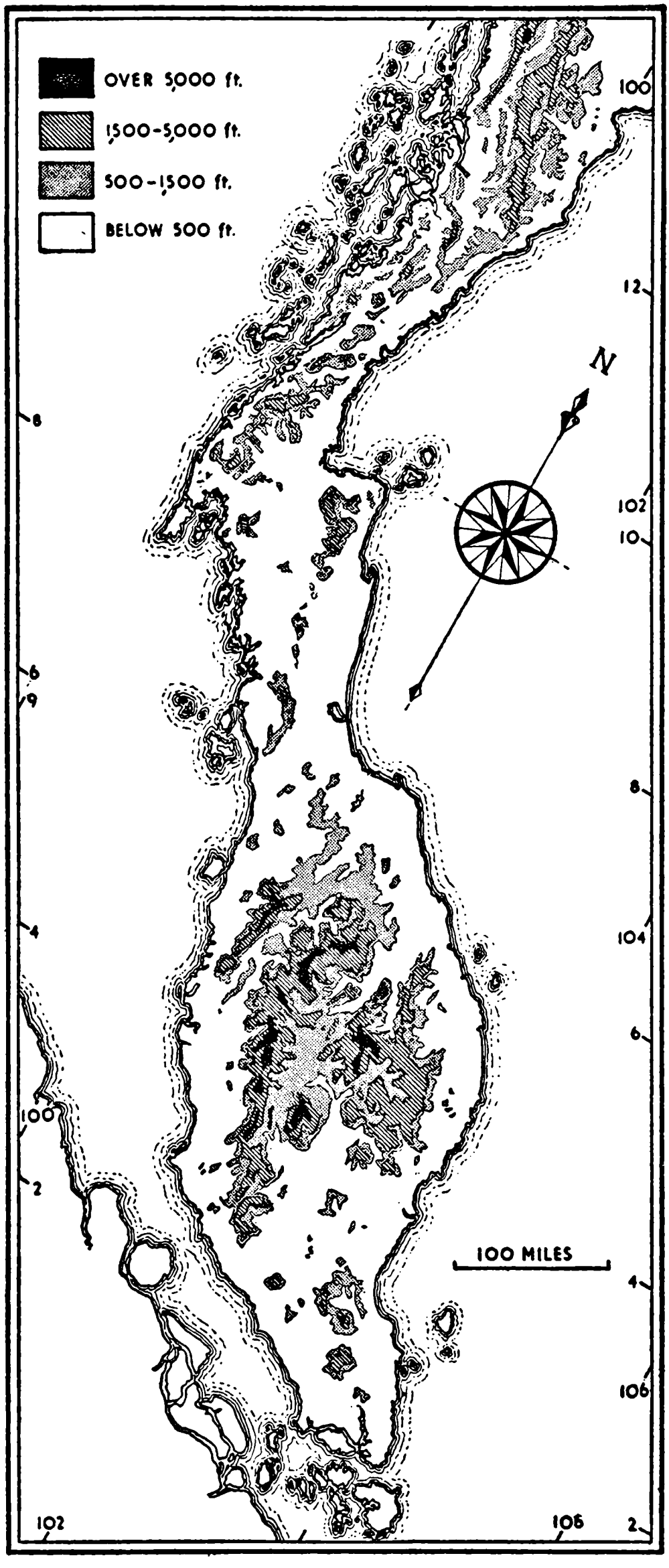


Fig. 2. The relief of the Malay Peninsula.

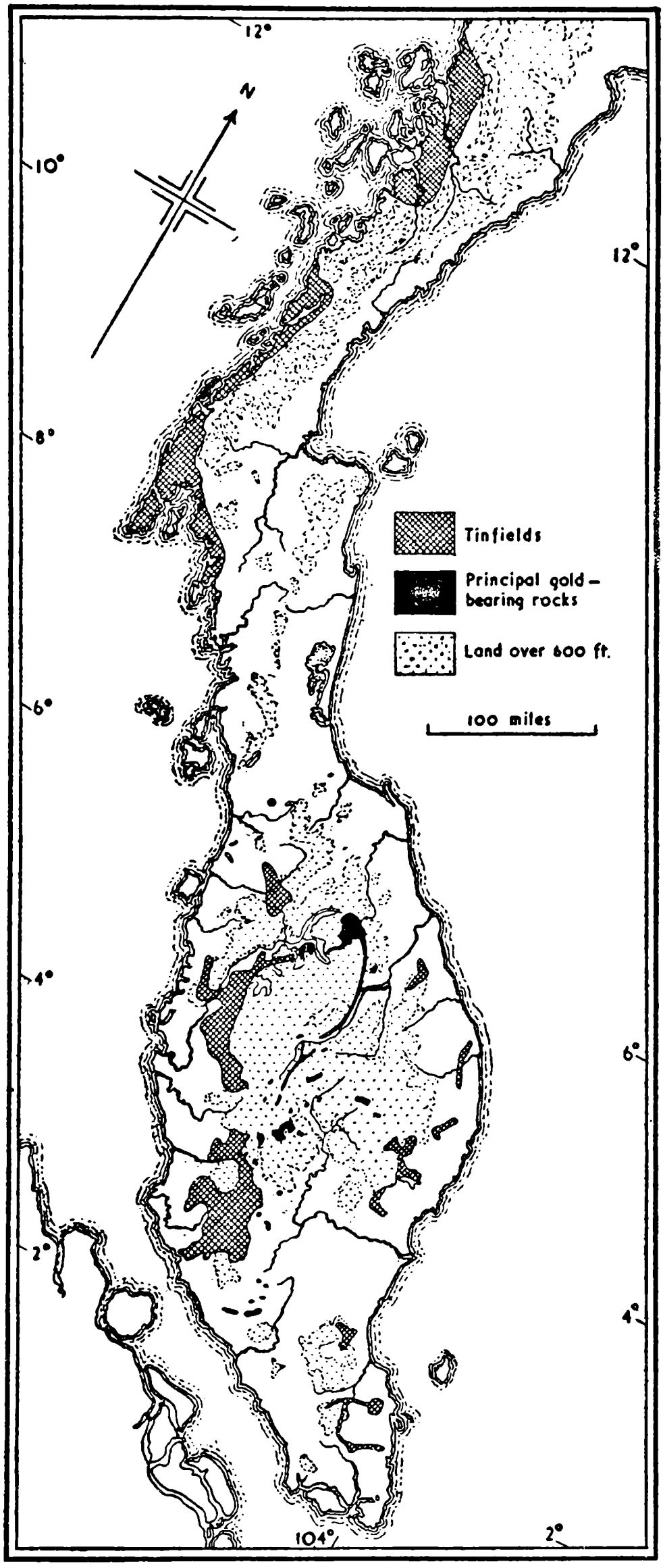


Fig. 3. Gold and tin deposits of the Malay Peninsula.

this metal was a much rarer commodity than at present so that primitive and tedious methods of working it were proportionately more profitable. Arab writers also mention silver among the products of the Peninsula, but if they are correct it must have been obtained originally from elsewhere, for this metal is found only as an impurity in galena. Possibly the legend arose for no better reason than that the two metals, gold and silver, ought to be associated in any good fairy story.

The other metal produced in ancient times was tin, which was exported in Arab bottoms at least as early as the tenth century. Tin-ore occurs throughout the length of the Peninsula, both in the granites and in the adjacent sedimentaries. In the northern tracts it is restricted to localities on the west coast, but in the southern half of the Peninsula it is possible to distinguish two belts, an eastern and a western, of which the latter is the more extensive and more accessible by river craft. On the west too the zone of freshwater swamp-forest which separates the tin-bearing foothills of the main range from the coast is narrower and proves a much less formidable barrier than that on the east.

Owing to its proximity to the equator the climate of the Malay Peninsula is characterized by uniform temperatures, high humidity and copious rainfall. The average maximum temperature in the lowlands is rather less than 90°F and the minimum rather more than 70°F. In the central mountains temperatures are considerably lower, but the limited areas above 4,000 ft. and the absence of settlement at such elevations rendered these cooler regions of no human significance prior to the late nineteenth century. The movement of tropical air masses to and fro across the equator as described above causes the Malayan seasons to depend on wind reversal and rainfall rather than on the very slight annual temperature changes. South of about 6°N the Peninsula lies in the equatorial monsoon belt, with a total of about 100 in. of rainfall evenly distributed throughout the year. North of this latitude a drier season begins to appear. At Alor Star in 6° 7′ N., for example, January has on the average only 1·7 in. of rain and February only 1·2 in. This seasonality of rainfall—and its variability—become progressively more marked in higher latitudes so that at Takuapa the comparable figures are 1·1 and 1·3 in. and at Bangkok 0·9 and 1·0 in., with only 2·1 in November, 0·7 in December, 1·3 in March and 1·9 in April. But in all parts of the Peninsula total rainfall is sufficient to

support at least a slightly modified form of rain-forest and there is no dry zone comparable to that which served as the nursery of the Burmese nation. Throughout the Peninsula a high proportion of the rain occurs in torrential showers, more than 3 in. having been known to fall in half an hour.[1] Add to the erosive power of such downpours the high rate of chemical action consequent on excessive warmth and abundant moisture and it will be obvious that the climate of Malaya is the greatest enemy of the archæologist. No organic materials survive for more than a few years and even masonry disintegrates in decades rather than centuries.

Rivers have played an important rôle in the history of Malaya. Under the climatic régime described above most of them fluctuate greatly in volume. Floods are an annual event in many parts of the Peninsula and heavy deposition of sediments in the lower reaches of river courses causes frequent migration of distributaries. How many early settlements suffered the fate of Kuala Kubu, which was completely buried by alluvium, will never be known, but not a few authors have invoked such cataclysms rather too gratuitously in support of their interpretations of early history. Dr. Quaritch Wales, for example, has suggested that large cities could have flourished in, say, the Perak valleys, and yet have been wholly destroyed, 'their remains perhaps rooted up and disseminated over square miles of river basin'.[2] This may be so, but it is wiser to invoke such theories only as a very last resort. Most of the recorded instances of inundation and burial date from no earlier than the nineteenth century when forest clearance, mining and extensive agricultural operations disrupted the naturally graded profiles of innumerable Peninsular streams. It was, for instance, mining operations which changed the course of the Sungei Sĕlangor with such disastrous results at Kuala Kubu, while rubber planting around the headwaters of the Sungei Batang Padang in the early years of this century caused the river to silt up so that, no longer able to maintain its channel, it inundated 30,000 acres of

[1] The heaviest falls recorded at Singapore up to February 1955 are as follows:

15 min.	— 1·67 in.	1 hour	— 4·73 in.
30 min.	— 3·15 in.	2 hours	— 5·79 in.
45 min.	— 4·13 in.	3 hours	— 5·84 in.

(From Watts, *MJTG*, vol. vii, 1955, p. 39, note 1.)

[2] *JMBRAS*, vol. xviii, pt. 1 (1940), pp. 49–50.

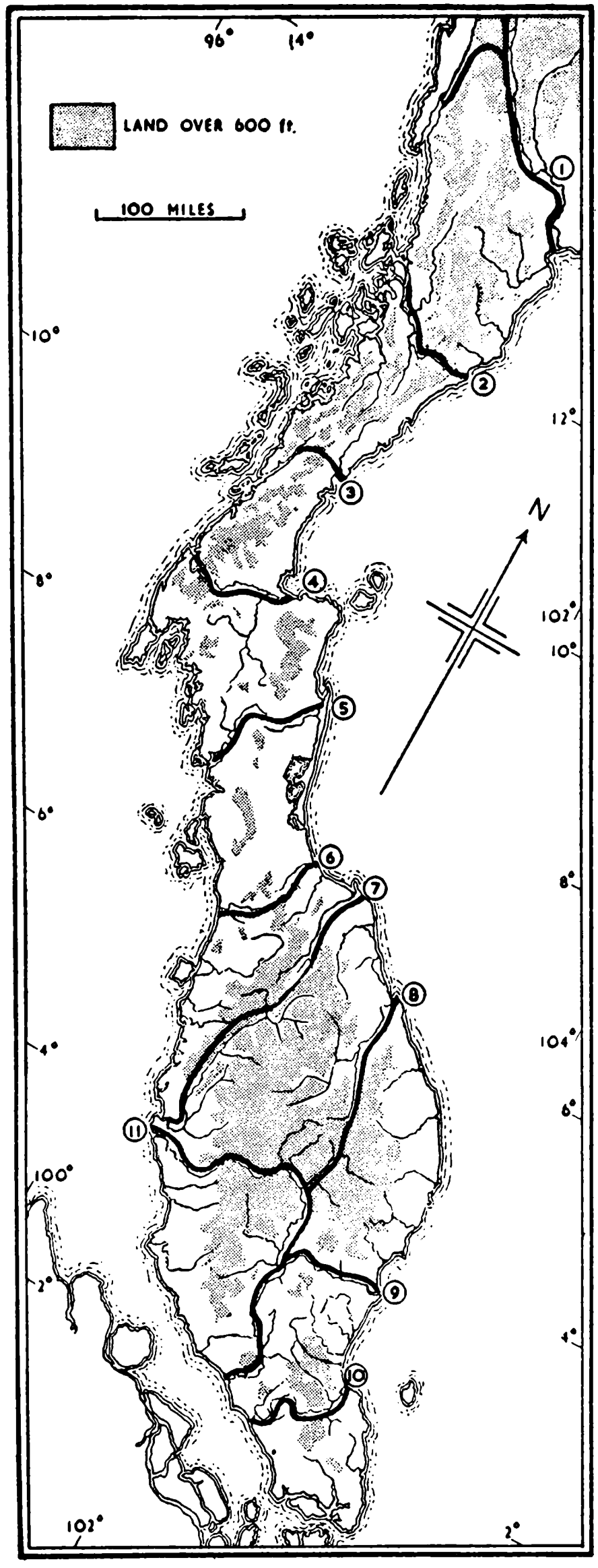


Fig. 4. The rivers of the Malay Peninsula and the main trans-peninsular routeways: (1) the Three Pagodas and Three Čedis routes; (2) the Tenasserim River route; (3) Kra Isthmus route; (4) Takuapa River route; (5) Trang River route; (6) Kědah-Patani route; (7) Perak-Patani route; (8) Kělantan-Malacca route by way of the Panarikan; (9) Pahang-Malacca route by way of the Panarikan; (10) the Sěmbrong route (for evidence of this see Appendix 2 to Part II); (11) the Bĕrnam-Pahang route.

countryside, which then became almost inaccessible.[1] Similarly the periodic flooding of low-lying parts of the Ipoh district and the silting up of the Kinta River at Tĕlok Anson are legacies from uncontrolled mining activity during the late nineteenth century.[2]

But the role of streams has not been solely destructive. From the very earliest days the tawny rivers of the Peninsula have provided the readiest means of access into the interior. The historic routeways of the isthmian region followed rivers inland from the west coast and, by way of low watersheds, led down to the China Sea. In the southern part of the Peninsula the tectonic pattern of the mountain ranges has tended to channel the major rivers longitudinally along strike vales, an alignment well illustrated by the Patani, Kĕlantan, Perak, Kinta, middle Pahang-Tĕmbĕling and Johore Rivers. On the other hand the present relief has favoured the development of short streams with steep gradients flowing latitudinally and breaking through the longitudinal ridges where necessary in steep-side gorges (Fig. 4). The integration of both these elements into the modern drainage pattern has produced six main trans-peninsular routeways, all of which have been used at one time or another (though not all feature in the period covered by this volume). The most northerly of these routes followed the Kĕdah River and then crossed into Patani, which could also be reached from the Perak valley.[3] A third entered the Pahang basin from the Bĕrnam,[4] while the best known of all reached Pahang by way of the Muar River and Panarikan.[5] The most southerly of these trans-peninsular routes crossed from the Batu Pahat valley to the Endau.[6] Finally a very ancient routeway followed the Kĕlantan and Galas Rivers towards the upper Pahang (Fig. 4).

[1] D. S. Ferguson, 'The Sungei Manik irrigation scheme', *MJTG*, vol. ii (1954), p. 10.

[2] For a statement of the legacy of uncontrolled mineral exploitation see *Report on Rivers in the Federated Malay States* (Kuala Lumpur, 1928), pp. 7–8.

[3] For descriptions of the several sections of this route see W. E. Maxwell, 'A journey on foot to the Patani frontier in 1876', *JSBRAS*, No. 9 (1882), pp. 1–67; W. Cameron 'On the Patani', *JSBRAS*, No. 11 (1883), pp. 123–42; and A. T. Dew, 'Exploring expedition from Selama, Perak, over the mountains to Pong, Patani', *JSBRAS*, No. 19 (1887), pp. 105–20.

[4] Cp. F. A. Swettenham, 'Journal kept during a journey across the Malay Peninsula', *JSBRAS*, No. 15 (1885), pp. 1–37.

[5] See Appendix 2 to Part II.

[6] Cp. H. W. Lake and H. J. Kelsall, 'A journey on the Sĕmbrong River. From Kuala Indau to Batu Pahat', *JSBRAS*, No. 26 (1894), pp. 1–15.

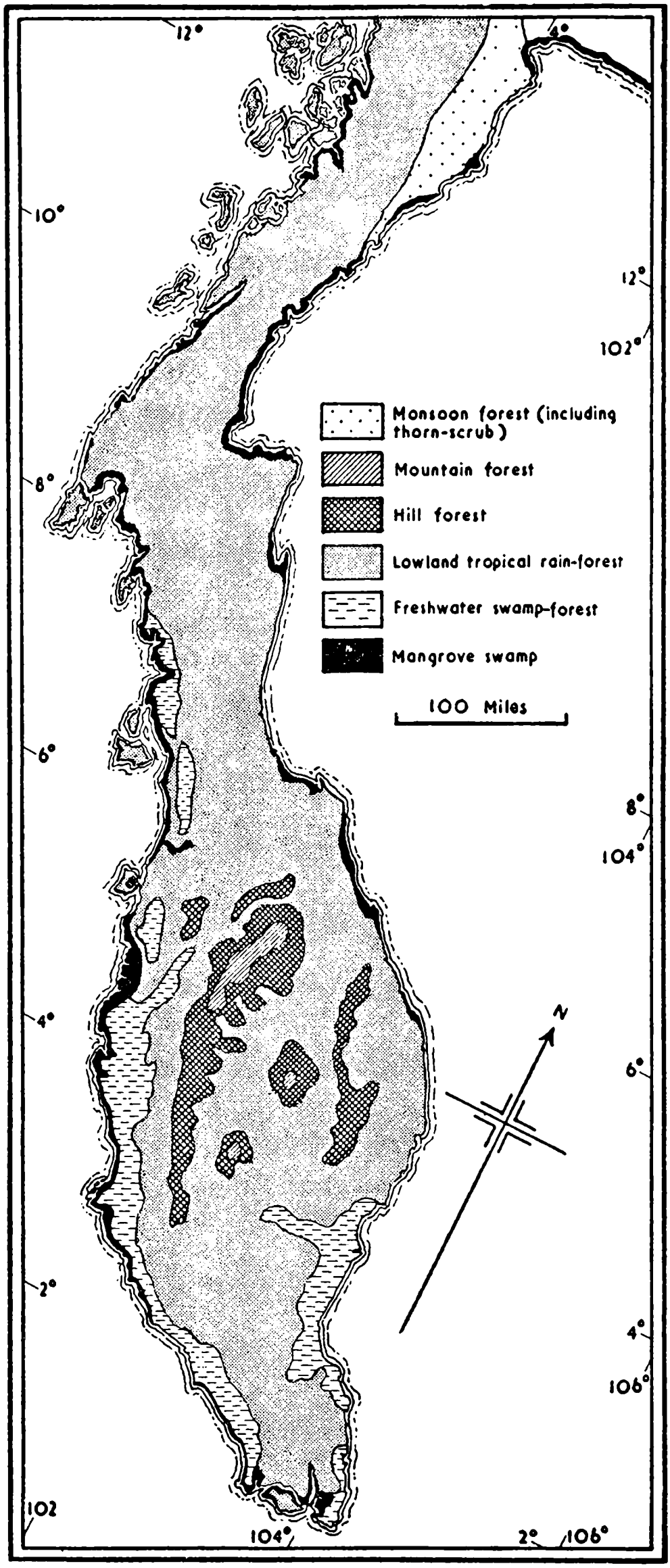


Fig. 5. The natural vegetation of the Malay Peninsula (generalized). The width of the mangrove is exaggerated in its thinner sections, while the casuarina fringe is too narrow to appear at all on this scale.

Although on an atlas map the Malay Peninsula appears to lie wholly within the belt of tropical rain-forest, even a superficial acquaintance with the countryside reveals marked variations in the composition of the climax communities which mantle the land. One author has gone so far as to claim that the Malayan natural landscape is more sharply differentiated by its forest types than by any other single factor.[1] In area the most extensive community is that of the tall and profusely leaved rain-forest, characterized by its high proportion of woody plants, particularly trees, and rich in lianes and epiphytes (Fig. 5). In this type of forest undergrowth is not dense except along river banks, where sunlight can penetrate to ground level, and this relative ease of access facilitated the collection of rattans, gums and other jungle products which featured prominently in early South-East Asian trade. Above 3,000 ft. the rain-forest thins out and bracken and ferns become more prominent, but such areas played no part in the early history of the Peninsula. Only Gunong Tahan (7,186 ft.) breaks completely through the forest mantle so that its upper slopes have a thin covering of shrub vegetation. Wherever rain-forest is destroyed, either by some natural agency or by man, it is replaced by a succession of plant communities which range from tropical grasses, through scrub interlaced with a dense mat of climbing bracken, to high forest barely distinguishable from the climax association. With an evenly distributed rainfall and constant high temperatures, and because plant growth is continuous throughout the year, the rate of regeneration is fast. Within a few years of clearing a site it is impossible to force one's way through the matted tangle of undergrowth that has sprung up. In such an environment archæological prospecting is a matter of extreme difficulty and depends to an inordinate degree on chance.

In low-lying areas the rain-forest association passes locally into freshwater swamp whose dense undergrowth of palms, pandanus and thorny plants is all but impenetrable. The west coast of the Peninsula is bordered by an almost unbroken belt of mangrove swamp which is up to twelve miles wide in parts of Perak and extends further inland up the river courses. On the east coast the mangrove is narrower and discontinuous, being confined mainly to estuaries, while the intervening stretches of sandy coast are fringed with feathery casuarinas.

[1] E. H. G. Dobby, *Southeast Asia* (London, 1950), p. 100.

The typical soil of the Malay Peninsula is a bright red, yellow or brown laterized clay with a very thin humus horizon and therefore a low productivity. Somewhat more fertile soils are found in the valleys and along the coasts, but even here cultivation depends more on the height of the water-table than on the intrinsic quality of the soil. So ubiquitous are laterized soils that the fine adjustment of settlement to the minutiae of soil variation which characterizes the landscape of, say, Western Europe or North China, is almost entirely lacking. On the Malay Peninsula proximity to the sea or to rivers was the dominant factor in the location of early settlements.

By the early centuries of the Christian era, when written records first became available, the Malay Peninsula had long provided a home for man. As far back as the Pleistocene period men—of a sort—had wandered through the forests of North Malaya and left a cache of their crude stone tools at Kota Tampan in the Upper Perak valley,[1] but they made little impression on the landscape. Such primitive tools as they manufactured left them almost wholly at the mercy of their environment. Nor did their successors who roamed the Peninsula from about the ninth to the third millenia B.C. leave any permanent impress on the face of the country. These were a cave-dwelling Melanesoid people whose habitation sites were restricted to the limestone terrains of the centre and north of the Peninsula (Fig. 6). In these areas almost every cave or rock-shelter large enough to be habitable and which, while reasonably accessible, was out of reach of floods, today yields evidence of Mesolithic occupance. Although during the many centuries when these folk inhabited the Peninsula they evolved from simple collectors living directly off the bounty of the forest into skilful hunters capable of trapping large animals, they too were dominated by the environment. Save for the trampled earth at the entrance to their shelters, their middens and jungle traps, there was little to betray their existence in the forests of the Peninsula. The first assault on the forest cover, although to only a limited extent, was undertaken with the arrival of the first cultivators to enter the Peninsula, the forbears of the present Malay and Indonesian people, who filtered in from the northwards

[1] For full expositions and bibliography of the Malayan Stone Age see M. W. F. Tweedie, *JMBRAS*, vol. xxvi, pt. 2 (1953).

probably between 2500 and 1500 B.C. Although their crops are known only by inference, there is no doubt that they cultivated alluvial floodplains in the interior of the Peninsula (Fig. 6).

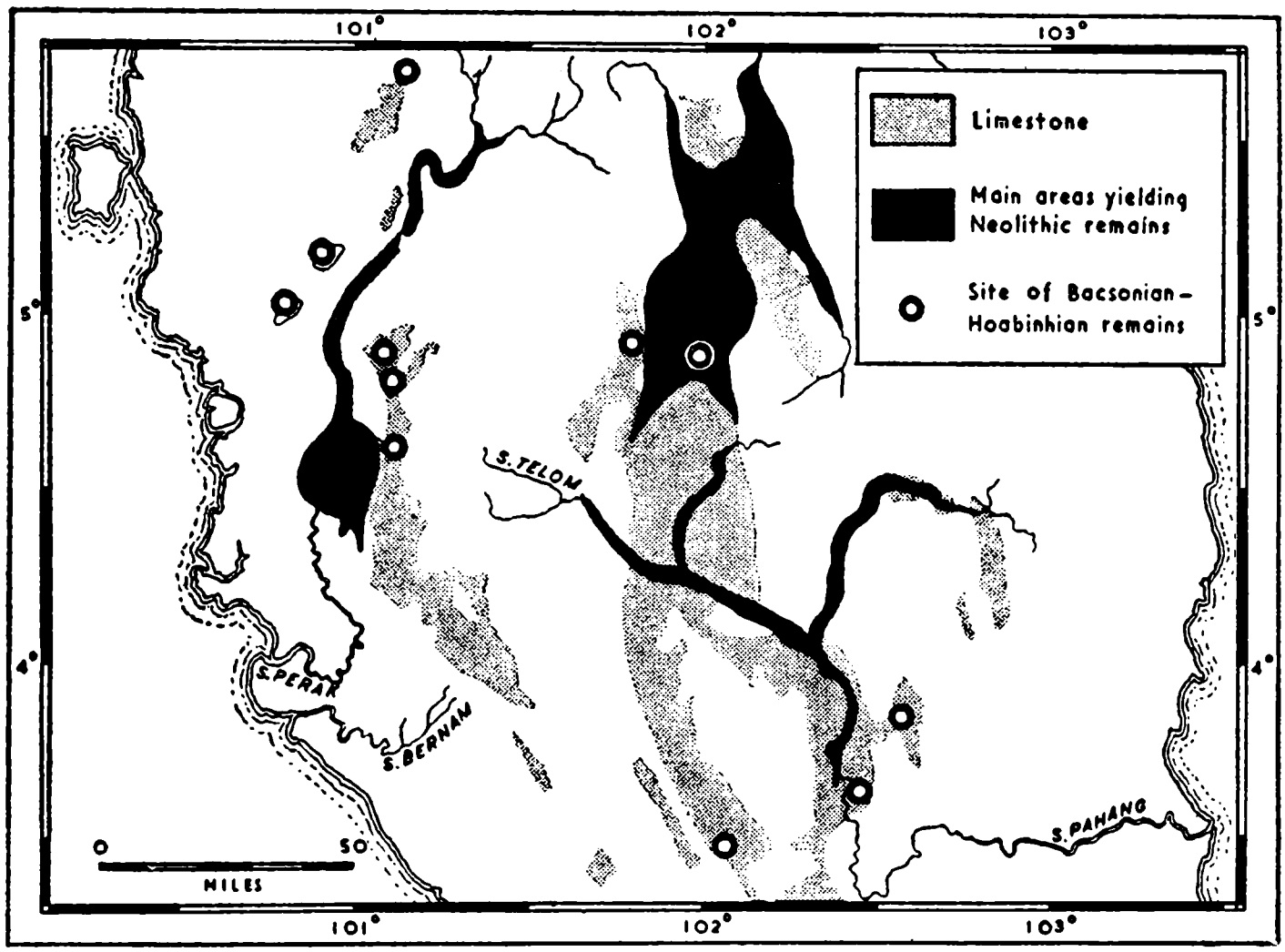


Fig. 6. The distribution of the main Mesolithic (Bacsonian-Hoabinhian) and Neolithic finds in Central Malaya.

During the later centuries of the pre-Christian period these people, or later immigrants, acquired the use of metals. The several attempts to reconstruct from archæology, folklore and ethnographical evidence the civilization of South-East Asia at this time, which is also the period when Indian influence began to make itself felt, have not all been free from exaggeration. Coedès, who presents the most conservative assessment, considers that the landscapes of this period—known from a type excavation in Tongking as the Dong-so'n period—were diversified by irrigated padi-fields cultivated with the aid of buffalo and oxen, and that the resulting need for organization of village life was already incorporated in the structure of society.[1] Other landscape features attributed to the Dong-so'n culture were the erection of shrines

[1] *Les états hindouisés*, pp. 25–6. Cp. Brandes, *TBG*, deel xxxii (1889), pp. 122 *et seq.* and Krom, *Hindoe-Javaansch geschiedenis*, pp. 47–8.

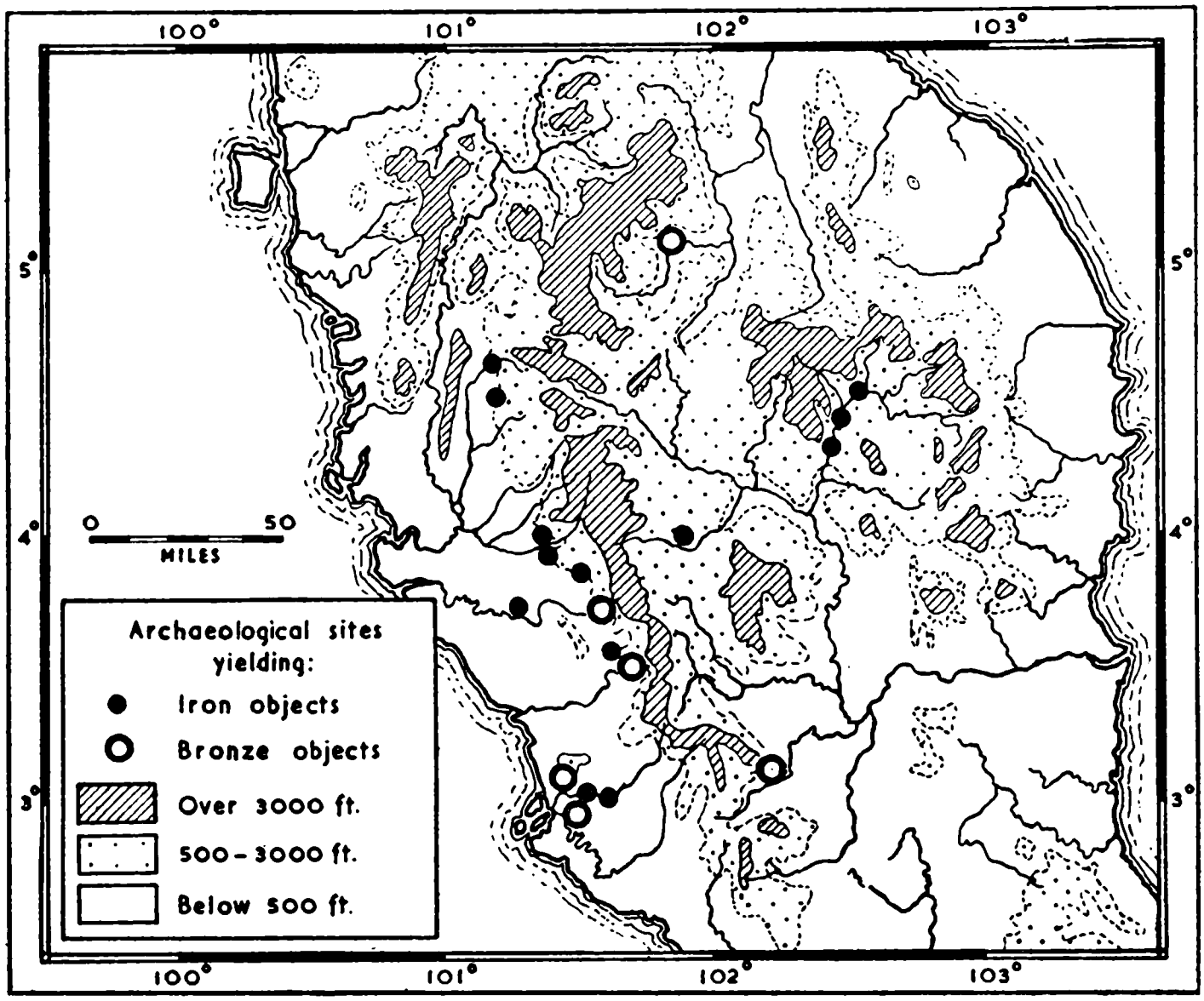


Fig. 7. Distribution of finds from the metal age in the south of the Peninsula.

on high places, with which was associated a mythology of cosmological dualism frequently expressed in the complementary form of mountain and sea.[1] In addition to being metal-workers and farmers, these Dong-so'n folk were skilled mariners, whose vessels were seen as far off as the west coast of India.[2] Archæological finds relating to this culture on the Malay Peninsula are scanty and sporadic[3] and seem, to the present author at least, to date from a much later period than do those of Indo-China and Java. The location of these finds would, moreover, imply that the bearers of this culture entered the southern tracts of the Peninsula from Sumatra by way of the west coast rivers,[4] presumably in search of gold (Fig. 7). The Těmběling finds may be an exception in that

[1] A motif which appears frequently in later South-East Asian history. Cp. the Śailendras who styled themselves 'Kings of the Mountain and Lords of the Isles'.

[2] p. 184 below.

[3] For a discussion of this topic see Prince John Loewenstein, *JMBRAS*, vol. xxx, pt. 1 (1957), which also contains a full bibliography.

[4] I am indebted to Dr. C. A. Gibson-Hill for this interpretation.

they are on an historic routeway from the north, although that district could also have been reached by way of the Bĕrnam River. Whatever interpretation is placed on the distribution of finds from this period, there can be no doubt but that the users of metal were a small group in a land still predominantly in the Neolithic stage.[1]

This then was the Golden Khersonese at the dawn of history: a long, green, mountainous peninsula thrust forward into equatorial waters from the extreme south-eastern angle of Asia. Scattered exiguously through its forests were an agricultural and sea-faring folk, some few of whom may have had an elementary knowledge of metals. The intrinsic resources of the Peninsula were deposits of one precious and one base metal, together with a variety of forest products. But the potential value of these last was reduced by the fact that China could obtain them all nearer to her own frontiers, while she showed no interest in either gold or tin until the fourteenth century. In any case these metals and forest products were obtained by the indigenous folk of the Peninsula so that foreign traders needed only to establish entrepôts on the coast. There was little incentive for them to settle in the country and, in fact, of the peoples who visited the Peninsula in pursuit of trade, only Indians came to stay, and then in smaller numbers than has sometimes been supposed. Despite the attraction of its gold deposits, the cardinal advantage of the Golden Khersonese resided in its position, and it is to this aspect that we shall return most frequently in the following chapters.

[1] Confirmatory evidence of this is the occasional find of a stone adze with its cutting edge modelled on the shape of a forged bronze one (Tweedie, *JMBRAS*, vol. xxvi, pt. 2, 1953, pp. 22–5). For stone spearheads fashioned in the shape of iron models see Callenfels, *BRM*, No. 1 (1936), pp. 38–40. Cp. also the weapons of both stone and metal used in the kingdom of *P'an-p'an* (p. 49 below).

PART I

China and The Malay Peninsula

AN EXAMINATION OF THE CHINESE RECORDS RELATING TO MALAYA BEFORE A.D. 1500

INTRODUCTION

THE single most valuable corpus of evidence available to the historical geographer of Malaya for the period prior to A.D. 1500 is that contained in Chinese historical writing. Indeed before the tenth century this is virtually the only detailed source, such vague references as occur in Indian and Western literature, although of interest to the antiquarian, being of little practical value to the historical geographer. The Chinese records upon which we must rely exhibit a rich variety but can be subsumed under dynastic histories, encyclopedias, and travels and topographies.[1]

Although they vary considerably in the nature of their information, the great majority of these texts have one thing in common: they are recording geographical lore at second-hand. This is particularly true of the official histories, which were compiled after the close of the dynasties with which they deal by civil servants attached to the central government. They were, moreover, intended for the use of bureaucrats attached to that central government who, by virtue of their training and profession, were with rare exceptions uninterested in countries beyond the Chinese frontier.[2] This system meant that even though an envoy might report as accurately as was possible for a man travelling among strange sights for the first time, yet unintentioned slants might be imparted to his narrative by historians who at some considerable interval of time compiled the official record. But by no means all envoys restricted

[1] These three categories are discussed in Appendix 1 to this Part.

[2] Cp. Dubs, *FEQ*, vol. vi, no. 1 (1946), pp. 23–43.

their reports to lands which they had visited personally. The *Liang-shu*, for example, claims that in the middle of the third century A.D. K'ang-T'ai and Chu-Ying, specifically envoys to *Fu-nan*, visited or heard about a hundred odd kingdoms. But most of their information about the countries of the South Seas seems to have been acquired from an Indian envoy whom they met at the Funanese court.[1]

Nor are the authors of travels and topographies always reliable guides to the geography of foreign countries. The earlier among them were Buddhist monks whose spirituality prevented them from devoting more than the minimum amount of energy to geographical observation and description. I-Ching, it would seem, even went so far as to exclude from his narrative those states where Buddhism was not in favour. Secular authors usually made some attempt at completeness in their accounts but almost invariably included a greater or lesser amount of second-hand information. Neither Chia-Tan nor Chou Ch'ü-fei nor Chao Ju-kua visited the countries they wrote about, while the itinerary of the first of these authors is known only from its partial preservation in the T'ang history. Even the remnants thus preserved are not without suspicion of textual corruption. Not until 1349, when Wang Ta-yüan compiled his *Tao-i Chih-lioh*, do we find an author who was also a traveller; but Wang himself only visited a few of the countries he described. In the following century Fei-Hsin and Ma-Huan both accompanied Ming fleets to the South Seas and the Indian Ocean but neither could resist the temptation to write of countries of which they knew only by hearsay.

Some Chinese encyclopedias such, for example, as the eighth-century *T'ung Tien*, achieved a high standard of factual accuracy but, from the point of view of the historical geographer, all suffer from two defects. Only infrequently do they acknowledge the source of their information (a Chinese scholar in the traditional manner would, of course, be expected to recognize a quotation at sight) and seldom do they provide indications of chronology. Sometimes there is an introductory note on the year-period during which a foreign state first entered into relations with China, and subsequent embassies and tribute missions are recorded fairly faithfully, but only rarely is the full story told. The Malayan

[1] See Chap. II.

city-state of *Tun-sun*, for instance, which flourished in the third century A.D., is mentioned for the first time in the annals of the Liang dynasty, but much the same description is incorporated in T'ang encyclopedias and in the *Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao*, compiled by Ma Tuan-lin some eight centuries after the state had vanished from the historical scene. Similarly the kingdom of *Ch'ih-t'u*, which was a power in the north-eastern part of the Peninsula during the late sixth and early seventh centuries, is described in both the *T'ai-p'ing Yü-lan* (977–83) and the *Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao* side by side with states of a much later period. This is no academic quibble and is an especially serious deficiency in any study of the city-states of the T'ang period. Some of these apparently ceased to send tribute early in that period but, as the official histories of the time fail to mention any new names, it is to be presumed that the old states survived for at least the major part of the dynasty. It is certain, though, that by about A.D. 1000 at the latest the political geography of the Peninsula had been transformed under the aegis of *Śrī Vijaya* (cf. pages 292–301 below).

So much for the difficulties involved in establishing the authenticity of information recorded by Chinese authors. The other major problems arise out of the nature of the Chinese language. This comprises only just over 400 different monosyllables, which are clearly inadequate to reproduce accurately the wide variety of sounds in South-East Asian languages. In ordinary speech the excessively large number of homophones resulting from this characteristic is considerably reduced by the use of tones, but these are of no advantage for the transcription of foreign names into Chinese. For such a name as the Malay [Pulau] Pisang, which approximates closely to Chinese sounds, there is no difficulty and it appears on the *Wu-pei-chih* chart as 毘宋 *Pi-sang* (Amoy Hokkien dialect). *Pen-t'o-lang* 奔陀浪 is readily recognizable as a transcription of *Pāṇḍuraṅga*, as is *To-mo-li-ti* 多摩梨帝 or *Tan-mo-li-ti* 耽摩栗底, 耽摩立底 for *Tāmralipti*. *Shih-li-fo-shih* 室利佛逝 for *Śrī Vijaya*, although well known, is not quite so obvious. *To-lo-po-ti* 墮羅鉢底, *Tu-ho-lo-po-ti* 杜和羅鉢底 and *Tu-ho-lo* 獨和羅 for *Dvāravatī* are also less apparent, and it is a *tour de force* to recognize the Malay *sĕlat* (= strait) in the Chinese character *chih* 質, if indeed this be a valid transcription.

The problem of restoring the original form of a word is not rendered easier by the fact that different authors—and sometimes

the same author—not infrequently represent a given place-name by varying characters with the same sound. Thus *P'an-p'an* occurs under the orthography 盤盤 in the *Liang-shu*, *Chiu T'ang Shu* and *Hsin T'ang Shu*, but in the last of these it is also found as 槃槃; *Tan-tan* is transcribed as 丹丹 in the *Liang-shu*, *T'ung Tien* and *Sui-shu*, but as 單單 in the *Hsin T'ang Shu*, and possibly as 呾呾 in a work of I-Ching; and *Ko-ku-lo* appears as 哥谷羅 in Chia-Tan's itinerary but as 葛古羅 in the *Sung-shih*. The problem is further complicated when the varying orthographies in which a place-name appears are not exactly homophonous. In the *Liang-shu*, for example, we find both *Tun-sun* 頓遜 and *Tien-sun* 典遜; while Kědah is represented by *Chieh-ch'a* 羯茶, *Chia-cha* 迦乍, *Chi-t'o* 吉陀 and *Chi-ta* 吉達 in I-Ching's *Memoir*, the *Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao*, the *Chu-fan-chih* and *Wu-pei-chih* respectively. In addition to these difficulties, not all scribes followed Confucius's advice to leave a lacuna in a text rather than fake an indecipherable character.[1] This human failing, aided perhaps by genuine mislections, probably accounts for the surprisingly numerous versions of *Chü-li* (pages 23–25) and the suite of forms denoting *Langkasuka* (Chapter XVI). *Ch'ü-sun* 曲遜 for *Tien-sun* 典遜 (page 18) and *Tan-mei-liu* 丹眉流 for *Chou-mei-liu* 舟眉流 (page 65) are satisfactorily explained as careless copying.

From the seventeenth century onwards Chinese scholars felt the need to identify the ancient South-East Asian place-names occurring in their histories, but their efforts were little more than guesses. Chang T'ing-yü, for example, in the *Ming-shih*[2] identified both *Tun-sun* and *Ko-lo* with Malacca, and placed *Ch'ih-t'u* in the basin of the Lower Chao P'rya, while in the *Huang-ching Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao*,[3] *Tan-tan* (under an orthography 單呾 which makes the best of all possible worlds) was included as a dependency of Johore. The first modern scholar seriously to consider the old Chinese names for the kingdoms of South-East Asia was W. P. Groeneveldt in his well known collections of 'Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca'.[4] The years 1898–1900 saw the

[1] *Lun Yü*, XV, xxv.

[2] Book 325.

[3] Book 297.

[4] First published in *VKBG*, vol. xxxix (1879); reprinted in revised form in *MPI*, second series (1887), pp. 126–262. Groeneveldt published supplementary notes to this paper in *TP*, tome vii (1896), pp. 113–34.

publication of Schlegel's 'Geographical Notes',[1] but not until Pelliot's magistral papers of 1903[2] and 1904[3] was there available a succinct statement of the ancient geography of South-East Asia as known to the early Chinese. Although in a few instances Pelliot's conclusions may be questioned, his knowledge of text and context was hardly ever at fault, and his work still provides a firm foundation for the early geography of South-East Asia. In a valuable paper in 1925 G. H. Luce[4] formally summarized the Chinese records relating to peninsular South-East Asia from the third to the eighth century and there the matter has rested till the present day. Wang Gung-wu,[5] in his study of Chinese trade with the Nan-Hai, for example, relied largely on the identifications of Pelliot and Luce. Fujita Toyohachi[6] and others of the Japanese school have frequently touched upon problems of place-name identification in the South Seas but their conclusions, though based on immaculate scholarship, are seldom acceptable to the present author. The views of the Chinese scholar Feng Ch'eng-chün[7] are usually in harmony with those of European writers such as Pelliot and Luce.

In addition to these sinologists who concerned themselves specifically with ancient South-East Asia, many others have contributed indirectly to our knowledge of early times. Julien, Rémusat, Beal, Legge, Watters, Giles, Takakusu and Chavannes[8] edited, translated or annotated the accounts of Buddhist monks who passed through the *Nan-Hai* while Hirth and Rockhill[9] translated little known geographies of the South Seas and Indian Ocean. Finally the meticulous researches of Duyvendak[10] and

[1] *TP*, tomes ix—(deuxième série) ii.

[2] 'Le Fou-nan', *BEFEO*, tome iii, pp. 248–303.

[3] 'Deux itinéraires', *BEFEO*, tome iv, pp. 131–413.

[4] *JBRS*, vol. xiv, pt. 2, pp. 138–205.

[5] *JMBRAS*, vol. xxxi (1958).

[6] A collection of papers, bearing on the trade of the South Seas, by Fujita Toyohachi was translated into Chinese by Ho Chien-min 何健民 under the title 中國南海古代交通叢考 (Shanghai, 1936). For contributions by Adachi Kiroku, Kuwata Rokuro, Jitsuzo Kuwabara, Miyazaki Ichisada, Okazaki Takasi, Ryauon Fujishima, Takakuwa Komakichi, Yamamoto Tatsuro and Mikinosuke Ishida consult the bibliography.

[7] 中國南洋交通史 (Shanghai, 1937).

[8] See Chapters IV and XVI.

[9] Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua;* Rockhill, *TP*, tomes xiv–xvi (1913–5).

[10] *VKAWA*, deel xxxii (1933), pp. 1–74 and *TP*, tome xxxiv (1938), pp. 341–412.

Pelliot[1] elucidated the hitherto confused story of the Ming voyages to the West (including the involved bibliography) and gave us at least one text of impeccable exactitude. Nor must this catalogue close without mention of Mr. J. V. Mills's fine study of the Malay Peninsula in the *Wu-pei-chih* charts,[2] which provide, among much valuable geographical information, indisputable locations for the elusive *Langkasuka* and *Temasek*.

Unless stated otherwise in the text, translations in this part are by the author. The main exceptions relating to the period before the end of the T'ang are Fa-Hsien's voyage, for which Giles's version has been adopted *in toto* (Chapter IV) and the journeys of the Han envoys (Chapter I), in the account of which the influence of Professor Duyvendak's translation will be apparent to all sinologists. For the Sung and Yüan periods (Chapters VI and VII) the translations are based mainly on those of Hirth and Rockhill (although these are seldom incorporated in unmodified form), while for the Ming voyages it would have been impertinent to deviate from the texts of Professors Duyvendak and Pelliot wherever they were available.

The editions of the chief texts from which the translations have been made are as follows:

Work		*Edition*
Ch'ien Han Shu	前漢書	四部備要
Liang-shu	梁書	百衲本二十四史
Pei-shih	北史	百衲本二十四史
Chin-shu	晉書	四部備要
Nan-shih	南史	百衲本二十四史
Ch'en-shu	陳書	四部備要
Sui-shu	隋書	百衲本二十四史
Chiu T'ang Shu	舊唐書	百衲本二十四史
Hsin T'ang Shu	新唐書	百衲本二十四史
Sung-shih	宋史	四部備要
Yüan-shih	元史	四部備要
Ming-shih	明史	四部備要

[1] *TP*, tome xxx (1933), pp. 237–452; tome xxxi (1935), pp. 274–315; tome xxxii (1936) pp. 210–22.

[2] *JMBRAS*, vol. xv (1937), pp. 1–48.

Work			*Edition*
Lo-yang Ch'ieh Lan Chi	洛陽伽藍記	–	四部叢刊
T'ung Tien	通典	–	商務印書館
T'ai-p'ing Huan Yü Chi	太平寰宇記	–	萬廷蘭刻本
T'ai-p'ing Yü Lan	太平御覽		宋板
Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao	文獻通考	–	商務印書館
Ta-T'ang Hsi-yü Chi	大唐西域記		Taishō
Ta-T'ang Hsi-yü Ch'iu-fa Kao-seng Chuan	大唐西域求法高僧傳	–	頻伽精舍大藏經
Ta-T'ang Ta-tz'ŭ-en-ssŭ San-tsang Fa-shih Chuan	大唐大慈思寺三藏法師傳		Taishō
Ling-wai Tai-ta	嶺外代答	–	筆記小說大觀
Chu-fan Chih	諸蕃志	–	叢書集成
Tao-i Chih-lioh	島夷誌畧	–	知服齋叢書
Hsing-ch'a Sheng-lan	星槎勝覽	–	叢書集成
Ying-yai Sheng-lan	瀛涯勝覽	–	叢書集成

The system of romanization followed in this work is the slightly modified adaptation of Wade's *Syllabary* used in the *National Language Dictionary*. This system was adopted, despite the superior claims of Gwoyeu Romatzyh for the linguist, because it is more readily intelligible to the non-specialist. The greater precision of Gwoyeu Romatzyh brings no advantages to the discussions which follow. Finally, it is regretted that typological limitations have prevented the inclusion of the ancient sounds of Chinese graphs.

CHAPTER I

THE PORTAGE OF THE SOUTH SEAS

NOT only was the intrinsic wealth of Malaya small but such products as it did possess could for long be obtained in adequate quantities from countries farther north. It is not surprising therefore that this long green peninsula featured first in Chinese history as a stage on the sea-route to India rather than as a terminus of trade activity. A notice in the *Ch'ien Han Shu*[1] reads as follows:

自日南障塞徐聞合浦船行可五月有都元國又船行可四月有邑盧沒國又船行可二十餘日有湛離國步行可十餘日有夫甘都盧國自夫甘都盧國船行可二月餘有黃支國民俗皆與珠涯相類其州廣大戶口多多異物自武帝以來皆獻見有譯長屬黃門與應募者俱入海市明珠璧流離奇石異物齎黃金雜繒而往所至國皆稟食爲耦蠻夷賈船轉送致之亦利交易剽殺人又苦逢風波溺死不者數年來還大球至圍二寸以下

From the barriers of *Jih-nan*, *Hsü-wen* and *Ho-p'u* it is about five months' voyage to the country of *Tu-yüan*. It is about a further four months' voyage to the country of *I-lu-mo*, and yet another twenty odd days' voyage to the country of *Shen-li*. It is rather more than ten days' journey on foot to the country of *Fu-kan-tu-lu*,[2] whence it is something over two months' voyage to the country of *Huang-chih*. The customs of the people are rather similar to those of *Chu-yai* (Hai-nan). These countries are extensive, their populations numerous and their many products unfamiliar. Ever since the time of the Emperor Wu (141–87 B.C.) they have all offered tribute. There are chief-interpreters attached to the Yellow Gate[3] who, together with volunteers, put out to sea to buy lustrous pearls, glass, rare stones and strange products in exchange for gold and various silks. All the countries they visit provide them with food and companionship. The trading ships of the barbarians transfer [the Chinese] to their destination. It is a profitable business [for the barbarians], who also loot and kill. Moreover, there are the hazards of wind and wave to be encountered and [the possibility of] death by

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[1] Chap. 28, pt. 2, f. 32 recto et verso.

[2] Of this name the seventh-century commentator Yen Shih-ku 顏師古 remarked

> . . . 都盧國人勁捷善緣高 . . .
> . . . the inhabitants of the kingdom of *Tu-lu* are strong and active and adept at climbing heights. . . .

This might be held to imply that 夫甘都盧國 should be read as 'the kingdoms of *Fu-kan* and *Tu-lu*', but modern commentators have invariably interpreted the characters as a single place-name. The point has no importance for what follows.

[3] The Department of Eunuchs.

drowning. If these are avoided the outward and return voyages take several years. The large pearls are at the most two Chinese inches in circumference.[1]

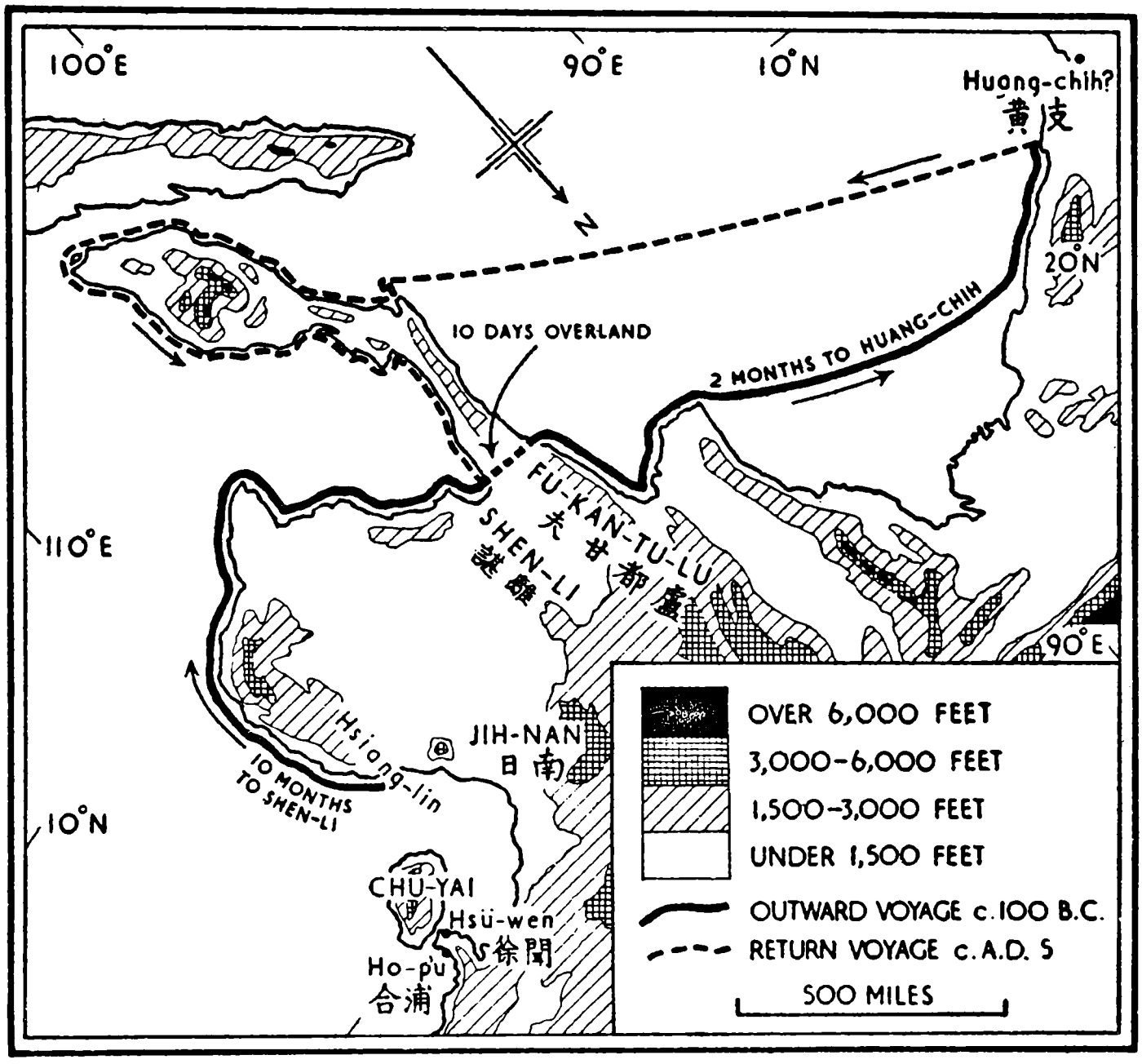

Fig. 8. Possible voyages of the interpreters of the Yellow Gate. Based on the Ch'ien Han Shu, *chap. 28. Two unidentified ports of call in Indo-China are necessarily omitted, as is* P'i-tsung, *situated somewhere on or near the Malay Peninsula.*

Despite the attentions of a succession of eminent scholars,[2] most of the place-names enumerated in this passage have stubbornly resisted identification, and such interpretations as have been offered have depended too largely on tenuous philological speculations

[1] For the interpretation of this last sentence I am indebted to Professor Duyvendak's translation. See note 1 on p. 10 of *China's discovery of Africa.*

[2] This passage was first noticed by Paul Pelliot, *TP*, vol. xiii (1912), pp. 457–61 and subsequently studied by A. Herrmann, *ZGEB* (1913), pp. 553–61; B. Laufer, *Chinese clay figures*, p. 80, note 2; G. Ferrand, *JA* (1919), pp. 451–5; G. H. Luce, *JBRS*, vol. xiv, pt. 2 (1925), pp. 92–9; Fujita Toyohachi, 中國南海古代交通叢考, pp. 83–117; R. Hennig, *Terrae incognitae*, vol. i, pp. 323–30 and J. J. L. Duyvendak, *China's discovery of Africa*, pp. 9–12. In addition the present author has recently re-examined the geographical implications of this text in *JMBRAS*, vol. xxx, pt. 1 (1957), pp. 79–85.

to the neglect of geographical probability. Of the position of one terminus of the itinerary, however, there can be no doubt: *Jih-nan* was Upper Annam, while *Hsü-wen* and *Ho-p'u* were sub-prefectures on the southern coast of Kuang-tung. There is less certainty about the location of *Huang-chih*, the other terminus, but in view of the time taken on the voyage, it may well have been, as Ferrand suggested, somewhere on the shores of the Indian Ocean.[1] That being so, it is difficult to suggest an overland portage more apposite than that at the neck of the Malay Peninsula. In other words, *Shen-li* may have been on the east, and *Fu-kan-tu-lu* on the west, coast of the Peninsula (Fig. 8).

Even if this be true, we are not told by which of the routes described on page xxvii above the Chinese envoys crossed from the China Sea to the Indian Ocean. The distance covered in ten days would vary with the type of country encountered, but a reasonable march might well have been about 120 or 150 miles, which implies that the trans-peninsular route was some considerable distance either north or south of the Kra Isthmus. Of the several possible routes two suggest themselves as conforming with the implications of the Chinese text. The first is that connecting the present Rajburi either with Tavoy by way of the Three Čedis Pass or—an easier journey but somewhat overlong for a ten-day march—with Moulmein by way of the Three Pagodas Pass; the other leads from Patani westwards to Kědah. The intervening routes utilizing the Tenasserim, Pakchan, Takuapa and Trang Rivers are all too short. Neither the northern nor the southern possible route has yielded archæological evidence confirming its use as early as the first century B.C. but at P'ong-Tük, where the Meklong River enters the composite delta of Lower Siam, Professor Coedès excavated a settlement yielding Buddhist remains of the second to sixth century A.D.,[2] while from P'ra Pathom further down the valley have come finds attributable to the fifth or sixth centuries A.D.[3] The earliest remains associated with the route from Patani to Kědah are those at its western terminus in the vicinity of the Měrbok and Muda Rivers, which Dr. Wales has claimed show

[1] Proposed locations for *Huang-chih* have ranged from Africa through India to the Malay Peninsula. For a conspectus of the views of various scholars see Wheatley, *op. cit.*, pp. 80–1.

[2] Coedès, *ABIA*, (1927), pp. 16–20; *JSS*, vol. xxi, pt. 3 (1928), pp. 195–210.

[3] p. 195 below.

evidence of Indian settlement as early as the fourth and fifth centuries A.D.[1] This evidence is too meagre to enable us to draw any valid conclusions as to the precise route which the Chinese ambassadors may have followed, but that they crossed the Malay Peninsula at one point or another is extremely probable. Here then in the reign of Wu-ti we encounter what may have been the first recorded contacts between China and the Peninsula, arising through the exploration of the sea-route to India, itself the logical extension of Han southward expansion which culminated in the incorporation of *Nan-yüeh* in the Chinese Empire in 114 B.C.[2] The passage also focusses attention on the role the Peninsula was destined to play in the epic of Chinese westward penetration during the next fifteen hundred years, namely that of a barrier to be crossed or circumnavigated.

After these preliminaries, relating presumably to the time of Wu-ti, the *Ch'ien Han Shu* continues as follows:

平帝元始中王莽輔政欲燿威德厚遺黃支王令遣使獻生犀牛自黃支船行可八月到皮宗船行可二月到日南象林界云

During the Yüan-shih period of Emperor P'ing (A.D. 1–5), Wang Mang, [in his capacity] as counsellor, and desirous of manifesting the brilliance of his majestic virtue, sent rich gifts to the King of *Huang-chih*, at the same time commanding him to dispatch an embassy to present a live rhinoceros [as tribute]. From *Huang-chih* it is about eight months' voyage to *P'i-tsung*. It is about a further eight[3] months' voyage to the borders of *Hsiang-lin* in *Jih-nan*. . . .

Once again we have an itinerary from *Huang-chih* to *Jih-nan*, but this time it is wholly a sea journey. Ferrand, assuming that *Huang-chih* was an Indian place-name, identified the intermediate station of *P'i-tsung* with the 皮宗 described in the *Hsi-yang Ch'ao-kung Tien-lu* 西洋朝貢典錄 as lying between Palembang and Malacca,[4] while Duyvendak identified it with the P'i-sung Island 毘宗嶼 which the *Wu-pei-chih* charts locate off the south-west coast of Johore.[5] These equations across a period of some fifteen hundred years may well be treated with reserve, but it is not

[1] p. 274 below.

[2] *Han Shu*, chap. 95, ff. 10 verso—13 recto and *Shih-chi*, chap. 113, ff. 4 recto—6 verso.

[3] This is the reading of the *Chin-ling* and *Wang Hsien-ch'ien* editions. The *Southern Academy*, *Min*, *Wang* and official editions have 二月, which Professor Duyvendak considers a better reading (*The Chinese Discovery of Africa*, p. 10).

[4] *JA* (1919), pp. 38–50.

[5] *The Chinese Discovery of Africa*, p. 11. The *Wu-pei-chih* charts are described on pp. 91–103 below. See also Fig. 21.

unlikely that the *P'i-tsung* of our text was the *Pi-sung* 比嵩 mentioned in the *Sui-shu*, a country which was most probably on the Malay Peninsula or a neighbouring island.[1]

It may well be, then, that the *Ch'ien Han Shu* contains the earliest dated reference to the Malay Peninsula in Chinese literature—in any literature, in fact, for contemporary Western and Indian writings yield only vague and timeless allusions to the fabled lands of *Chryse* and *Suvarṇadvīpa* (See Parts II and III). But it is also clear that Chinese shipping had not yet penetrated into the Indian Ocean. We can only guess at the identity of the 'barbarian' traders who conveyed the Chinese envoys to the South Seas; possibly they were a whole series of peoples, beginning with Yüehs in South China and including Chams, Proto-Malays and Indians. Whether both the trans-peninsular and the sea routes were in use simultaneously, or whether the latter superseded the former in the first century B.C., perhaps for some unrecorded political reason, we have no means of knowing. This period saw the dawn of Indianization in South-East Asia with the establishment of settlements on the isthmus, but it would hardly have been to the benefit of a community of traders established there to hinder overland traffic from east to west.

It is worth while looking a little more closely at the times allotted to the two routes. According to the *Chin-ling* and *Wang Hsien-ch'ien* editions, the trans-peninsular portage saved nearly four months on the total journey (twelve months as against sixteen). If the alternative reading of two months is accepted, however, the sea-route is quicker by some two months, but the short time taken on the eastern stage implies ocean rather than coastal sailing, and there is no corroborative evidence of this in the South China Sea at such an early date. One other point is worthy of note in this connexion. It seems that the times recorded for the various stages along the route sometimes included periods of waiting for the seasonal changes of the monsoon. The voyage from *Jih-nan* to *Shen-li*, for example, occupied nearly ten months, and that from *Huang-chih* to *P'i-tsung* probably some eight months but, owing to the twice-yearly reversal of wind direction in the Indian Ocean and the China Sea, no ship could sail for more than six months in one direction over the open ocean. In all probability the explanation

[1] p. 22 below.

is that on the voyage home from *Huang-chih* the vessel cast anchor in some sheltered haven, probably on the Malay Peninsula, where barter with the inhabitants might yield a casual profit. The necessity for such a staging point between *Jih-nan* and *Shen-li* on the outward voyage is less obvious, but possibly the 'barbarian' ships, having sailed late in the season, were unable to reach the isthmus before the south-west monsoon set in, and spent the intervening months before the next change in trade at some port in southern Indo-China.*

* Since this chapter was written Dr. Wang Gung-wu has published a study of the Han envoys: *JMBRAS*, vol. xxxi (1958), chap. 2, and Dr. C. A. Gibson-Hill has argued that two different missions have been confused in consequence of a similarity in Chinese toponyms: *JMBRAS*, in the press.

CHAPTER II

RUMOUR AND REPORT IN THE THIRD CENTURY A.D.

DURING the tripartite division of China which succeeded the fall of the Han dynasty most of the territory south of the Yangtze was incorporated in the state of Wu. This kingdom was insulated from contact with the West by the states of Shu and Wei but possessed a long southern seaboard, so that it is not surprising that its officials should have sought to establish trade relations with the countries of the South Seas. In pursuance of this policy, in the middle of the third century A.D. an embassy headed by the Chung-lang[1] K'ang-T'ai 中郎康泰 and the Hsüan-hua-ts'ung-shih[2] Chu-Ying 宣化從事朱應 was dispatched to *Fu-nan*. At the court of the king of this country the ambassadors met an envoy from the Murunḍa king,[3] whom they questioned in detail about the customs of India, and on their return both officials compiled accounts of their journey in which they claimed to have visited or heard about more than a hundred kingdoms in the Southern Seas.[4] These records of observation and hearsay are the main written sources for the state of the Malay Peninsula in the early centuries of the Christian era. Unfortunately the works themselves have been lost but for several centuries they provided material for Chinese historians, geographers, and encyclopedists who preserved much of the information in the form of quotations.[5]

As would be expected of evidence which was often recorded, and which must always be read, at second-hand, the testimony of K'ang-T'ai and Chu-Ying is not infrequently vague and confused. The circumstantial details of their narrative sometimes make it

[1] The senior secretary to a board.

[2] A cultural relations officer.

[3] It was this meeting which enabled Pelliot to date the Chinese embassy as A.D. 245–50 (*BEFEO*, vol. iii, 1903, pp. 303 and 430).

[4] The story of this mission has been culled from the *Liang-shu*, chap. 54, ff. 1 verso, 9 verso, and 22 verso–23 recto. See also Wheatley, *JMBRAS*, vol. xxviii, pt. 1 (1955), pp. 1–2.

[5] For the bibliography of the ambassadors' reports see Appendix 2 to this Part.

clear that they are referring to the Malay Peninsula but seldom give grounds for more precise identifications. Moreover, there is often room for a difference of opinion in the interpretation of a passage or a series of notices appear mutually contradictory. Yet despite these complexities and uncertainties, it is possible to reconstitute from the labours of K'ang-T'ai and Chu-Ying some account of the Peninsula in these early centuries. Meagre and unsatisfactory though this record is, the fact that it includes the earliest written description of any part of the Peninsula gives it an interest and importance out of all proportion to its completeness.

It is convenient to begin an examination of these early Chinese place-names with a quotation from the *Liang-shu*.

Chapter 54, folio 9 recto.

復以兵威攻伐旁國咸復屬之自號扶南大王乃治作大船窮漲海攻屈都昆九稚典孫等十餘國開地五六千里次當伐金隣

Once more [Fan-man[1]] used troops to attack and subdue the neighbouring kingdoms, which all acknowledged themselves his vassals. He himself adopted the style of Great King of *Fu-nan*. Then he ordered the construction of great ships and, crossing right over the *Chang-hai*,[2] attacked more than ten kingdoms, including *Chü-tu-k'un*, *Chiu-chih* and *Tien-sun*. He extended his territory for 5–6,000 *li*. Then he attacked the kingdom of *Chin-lin* [a country seemingly situated on the northern shores of the Gulf of Siam].[3]

It is curious that none of the three place-names mentioned in this passage occurs again under this orthography in the histories of the period. Let us examine *Tien-sun* first.

1. TIEN-SUN 典孫 OR TUN-SUN 頓遜

Although there is no other mention of *Tien-sun* in the dynastic histories, there can be no doubt that, as Ma Tuan-lin recognized as long ago as the thirteenth century,[4] it was the same country as that elsewhere called *Tun-sun* 頓遜. The first of the several references to this state is to be found in the *Liang-shu* and again in slightly modified form in the *Nan-shih*.

[1] Fan-man came to the throne of *Fu-nan* at about the beginning of the third century A.D.

[2] *K'ang-hsi Tzŭ-tien* 康熙字典 (under 漲) and *P'ei Wen-yün Fu* 佩文韻府 (chap. 40, under 海) define the *Chang-hai* as the South China Sea, but it is apparent from the passages discussed in this chapter that to the Chinese chronicler of the third century A.D. *Chang-hai* meant only that part of the South China Sea separating the Indo-Chinese mainland from the Malay Peninsula, that is, the Gulf of Siam.

[3] See Appendix 3 to this part.

[4] *Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao*, f. 2,601.

Liang-shu, chapter 54, folio 7 recto.

其南界三千餘里有頓遜國在海崎上地方千里城去海十里有五王並羈屬扶南頓遜之東界通交洲其西界接天竺安息徼外諸國往還交市所以然者頓遜迴入海中千餘里漲海無崖岸船舶未曾得逕過也其市東西交會日有萬餘人珍物寶貨無所不有又有酒樹似安石榴采其花汁停甕中數日成酒

More than 3,000 *li* from the southern frontier of *Fu-nan* is the kingdom of *Tun-sun*, which is situated on an ocean stepping-stone. The land is 1,000 *li* in extent; the city is 10 *li* from the sea. There are five kings who all acknowledge themselves vassals of *Fu-nan*. The eastern frontier of *Tun-sun* is in communication with *Chiao-chou* (Tong-king), the western with *T'ien-chu* (India) and *An-hsi* (Parthia). All the countries beyond the frontier come and go in pursuit of trade, because *Tun-sun* curves round and projects into the sea for more than 1,000 *li*. The *Chang-hai* (Gulf of Siam) is of great extent and ocean-going junks have not yet crossed it direct. At this mart East and West meet together so that daily there are innumerable people there. Precious goods and rare merchandise—there is nothing which is not there. Moreover, there is a wine-tree which resembles the pomegranate. The juice of its flowers is collected and allowed to stand in a jar: after a few days it becomes wine.

This passage is not wholly free from obscurity and translators have availed themselves of the latitude permitted by the lack of punctuation to devise a variety of interpretations. I have elsewhere examined these versions in some detail[1] and proposed the translation above, which seeks to do violence neither to geographical probability nor to the structure of the Chinese sentences. The most puzzling phrase is 在海崎上, so enigmatic as to appear corrupt. 'On a precipitous coast' has been a favourite translation but much more authoritative is Dr. Arthur Waley's emendation of 崎 to read 倚, meaning 'stepping-stone'. This is the version adopted above.

The next reference to *Tun-sun* is a quotation from the third century *Nan-chou I-wu Chih* preserved in the *T'ai-p'ing Yü Lan* (chapter 788, folio 1 verso):

南州異物志曰頓遜在扶南三千餘里本爲別國扶南先王范蔓有勇畧討服之今屬扶南

The *Nan-chou I-wu Chih* states that *Tun-sun* is more than 3,000 *li* from *Fu-nan*. Originally it was an independent kingdom. A former king of *Fu-nan*, Fan-man, was courageous; he seized and subdued it. At present it is subject to *Fu-nan*.

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[1] *JRAS* (1956), pp. 17–20. Other translations may be consulted in their entirety in Groeneveldt, *MPI*, pp. 239–40; Schlegel, *TP* (1889), pp. 33–4; Pelliot, *BEFEO*, tome iii (1903), p. 263; Laufer, *JA*, tome xii (1918), pp.28–9; Luce, *JBRS*, (1925) pp. 147–8; Braddell, *JMBRAS*, vol. xvii, pt. 1 (1939), p. 194; Han Wai-toon, *JSSS*, vol. v (1948), pp. 17–35 and Hsü Yün-ts'iao, *JSSS*, vol. v (1947), pp. 1–16.

In the same chapter the *T'ai-p'ing Yü Lan* repeats the passage from the *Nan-shih* mentioned above (page 15) but goes on to add certain ethnographic details omitted from that account.

竺芝扶南記曰頓遜國屬扶南國王名崑崙國有天竺胡五百家兩佛圖天竺婆羅門千餘人頓遜敬奉其道嫁女與之故多不去唯讀天神經以香花自洗精進不捨晝夜疾困便發願鳥葬歌舞送之邑外有鳥啄食餘骨作灰嬰盛沉海鳥若不食乃藍盛火葬者投火餘灰函盛埋之祭祀無年限有酒樹有似安石榴取花與汁停甕中數日乃成酒美而醉人

The *Fu-nan Chi*, by Chu-Chih, states that the kingdom of *Tun-sun* is a dependency of *Fu-nan*. Its king is called K'un-lun.[1] In the country there are five hundred families of *hu*[2] from India, two *fo-t'u*[3] and more than a thousand Indian brahmans. The people of *Tun-sun* practise their doctrine and give them their daughters in marriage; consequently many of the brahmans do not go away. They do nothing but study the sacred canon, bathe themselves with scents and flowers, and practise piety ceaselessly by day and night.[4] In times of sickness they [the people of *Tun-sun*] vow a bird burial. With songs and dances they are escorted outside the town, where birds devour them. The remaining bones are burnt to ashes, put in an urn and sunk in the sea. If the birds do not eat them, they are put into a basket. Burial by fire entails throwing oneself into the fire. The ashes remaining are put in a casket and entombment sacrifices are offered for an indefinite period. There is the wine-tree which resembles the pomegranate. Its flowers are gathered and their juice allowed to stand in a jar. After a few days it becomes an excellent intoxicating wine.

Much of this information also occurs in the T'ang encyclopedia *T'ung Tien* from the end of the eighth century, but bird burial is described more fully and the great quantities of perfumed flowers produced in *Tun-sun* are also noted.

國有區撥等花十餘種冬夏不衰日載數十車貨之其花燥更芬馥亦末爲粉以傅身焉其俗又多鳥葬將死親賓歌舞於郭外有鳥如鵝口鸚鵡而紅色飛來萬許家人避之鳥食肉將盡乃去燒其骨沉海中以

[1] Probably represents Old Khmer *kuruṅ* = king, regent (Pelliott, *BEFEO*, tome iv, 1904, pp. 228–30).

[2] The name *hu* 胡 refers specifically to Mongol and Tartar tribes of Central Asia, but Pelliot is probably correct in saying that it here includes Indians 'au sens large'. He is on less certain ground when he discerns in the distinction between *hu* and brahmans some indication that the former were a merchant class (*BEFEO*, tome iv, p. 279, note 4).

[3] *Fo-t'u* has not been satisfactorily explained. It may mean either the Buddha or a stūpa. Pelliot thinks the expression could possibly signify 'a buddhist'.

[4] In Pelliot's edition of this text the 自 of the clause 以香花自洗精進不捨晝夜 was replaced by 白, so that his translation read: 'et leur offrent assidument des vases blancs de parfums et de fleurs'. However, Pelliot admitted that he had arrived at this interpretation without conviction (*BEFEO*, tome iv, p. 279, note 7). Pelliot's translation is reproduced by Ferrand, *JA*, tome xiii (1919), p. 242.

爲上行人也必生天鳥若迴翔不食其人乃自悲復以爲已有穢更就火葬以爲次行也若不能生入火又不被鳥食以爲不行也

In the country [of *Tun-sun*] there are distributed more than ten kinds of flowers, which do not wither in winter or summer. Daily ten carts are filled with these flowers. When dried their fragrance is enhanced, and the dust is used as a powder with which to coat the body. Bird burial is a common custom. When a man is about to die, his relatives and friends sing and dance outside the town, where birds resembling geese, red in colour and with bills like those of parrots, come flying in myriads.[1] After the man's family has withdrawn the birds devour his flesh; when they have finished it completely they fly away. The bones are burnt and sunk in the sea. The man is then regarded as a person of superior conduct who will certainly be reborn in heaven. But if the birds circle and soar and do not feed on the man, he is afflicted and considers himself impure. He then has recourse to fire burial, but this is considered an inferior course of action. If he is neither able to rush into the flames alive, nor is devoured by the birds, he is considered to be of bad character.[2]

The notice of the flowers also appears word for word in the *T'ai-p'ing Yü Lan* (chapter 788, folio 1 verso) which adds further botanical details:

唐書曰頓遜國出霍香插枝便生葉如都梁以熏衣

The *T'ang-shu*[3] states that the Kingdom of *Tun-sun* produces *huo-hsiang (Pogostemon heyneanus*[4]*)*. This is propagated by suckers. Its leaves are like those of the *tu-liang (Eupatorium*[5]*)* and serve to perfume clothes.

Nearly all the material quoted above finds a place in chapter 176 of the geographical compendium known as the *T'ai-p'ing Huan Yü Chi*, published c. A.D. 980, and there is almost certainly one further reference to *Tun-sun* in the *T'ai-p'ing Yü Lan* (chapter 982, folio 3 verso):

南州異物志曰霍香生曲遜國屬扶風香形如都梁可以著衣服中

As it stands this passage reads:

The *Nan-chou I-wu Chih* states that *huo-hsiang* grows in the country of *Ch'ü-sun*. The plant is of the *fu-feng* type, and in appearance is like the *tu-liang*. It can be used for the preservation of clothing.

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[1] Identified by C. A. Gibson-Hill as vultures: personal communication.

[2] Part of this passage has also been translated into French by le Marquis d'Hervey de Saint-Denys in his *Ethnographie des peuples étrangers à la Chine*, pp. 445–7 and into English by Schlegel, *TP*, tome x (1899), pp. 33–4.

[3] This probably refers to the *T'ang-shih Lun-tuan* 唐史論斷, a critical study of the history of the T'ang dynasty written in the eleventh century.

[4] Laufer's identification (*JA*, tome xii, 1918, pp. 20–40). The plant was known to the ancient world of the West as *malabathron* and to modern times as *patchouli*. It is found wild from India to the Philippines.

[5] Laufer, *JA*, tome xii (1918), p. 27, note 5.

But Laufer has emended 曲遜 to 典遜.[1] Moreover, Luce would read 扶風 as 扶南[2] and interpret 屬 as 'dependent on' rather than as 'class' or 'kind'. These emendations would bring the passage into conformity with the notices discussed above:

The *Nan-chou I-wu Chih* states that *huo-hsiang* grows in the country of *Tien-sun*, which is a dependency of *Fu-nan*. . . .

Finally the *Lo-yang Ch'ieh Lan Chi* 洛陽伽藍記[3] contains the following notice which, conjectural though the interpretation be, seems to have some relevance at this stage of our investigations.

善提拔陁自云北行一月日至勾稚國北行十一日至孫典國從孫典國北行三十日至扶南國

[Of his voyage to *Fu-nan* the monk] P'ou-t'i-pa-t'o (Bōdhibhādra) himself says: After journeying northwards from *Ko-ying* 歌營 for one month I reached the kingdom of *Kou-chih*. After travelling northwards for eleven days I reached the kingdom of *Sun-tien*. From *Sun-tien* I voyaged northwards for thirty days, when I reached the kingdom of *Fu-nan*. . . .

Pelliot considers *Kou-chih* to be identical with the country known to the author of the *Liang-shu* (page 23 below) as *Chiu-chih* 九稚, and very properly emends *Sun-tien* to read *Tien-sun* 典孫.[4]

This concludes the evidence relating to *Tun-sun*. The earliest works in which this kingdom is mentioned are the *Liang-shu* and the *Nan-shih*, both from the seventh century A.D. These accounts may be called the geographical basis. Supplementary detail derived from the third century *Nan-chou I-wu Chih* is preserved in the *T'ai-p'ing Yü Lan*, together with ethnographic information from the *Fu-nan Chi* of the fifth century. The gathering of forest flowers for perfume and the existence of *huo-hsiang* are related in the eighth-century *T'ung Tien* and the *T'ai-p'ing Yü Lan*, while there is also a summary account of *Tun-sun* in the *San-ts'ai T'u-hui*.

The geographical information in the above texts is obscure but not impenetrably so. From the point of view of the Funanese, *Tun-sun* was situated beyond the Gulf of Siam. Moreover it projected into the sea as a barrier between East and West, a circumstance leading to its development as an important trading centre in communication with both India and Indo-China. This description can apply to only one region and there can be no doubt that the annalist of the Liang dynasty fully appreciated the cardinal

[1] *JA*, tome xii (1918) , pp. 27–8.
[2] *JBRS* (1925), p. 151, note 1.
[3] Chap. 4, f.18 recto.
[4] *BEFEO*, tome iv (1904), p. 387.

factor in the history of the Malay Peninsula, namely its peninsular form obtruded athwart the sea-route between India and China. That *Tun-sun* was indeed situated on the Peninsula the majority of scholars are agreed but its precise location has been a matter of controversy. Generally speaking, investigators have proposed two situations, the isthmus and the southern tip of the Peninsula. Schlegel,[1] Luce[2] and Pelliot[3] favoured the isthmus, while Fujita Toyohachi[4] followed Hirth and Rockhill[5] in choosing the latter position. In seeking greater precision Mr. Han Wai-toon[6] identified *Tun-sun* with the site of the modern village of Johore Lama, some dozen miles within the estuary of the Johore River. But even if such a position were compatible with the Chinese descriptions, the archæological evidence adduced by Mr. Han for the antiquity of this settlement is tenuous in the extreme.[7] Sir Roland Braddell considered that the degree of precision involved in all these identifications was too great for the evidence to bear. He concluded that 'Tun-sun must have been a generic name for the Malay Peninsula and that its main town was a trade emporium some distance from the sea . . . There is nothing,' he added, 'to show whether this town was in the north or the south of the Peninsula . . . '.[8]

This last statement can be disputed, for the account of Bōdhi-bhādra's voyage as related in the *Lo-yang Ch'ieh Lan Chi* (page 19 above) locates *Tun-sun* some thirty days' sail from *Fu-nan* and eleven days north of *Kou-chih* (discussed on page 23 below). This would seem to indicate a position on the isthmian tract rather than in the southern half of the Peninsula, a location wholly in accord with the *Liang-shu* notice which describes *Tun-sun* as 'situated on an ocean stepping-stone', that is, a place where one

[1] *TP* tome x (1899), p. 38.

[2] *JBRS* (1925), p. 156.

[3] *BEFEO*, vol. iii (1903), p. 263, note 1. Pelliot declared for the isthmus only after some hesitation. Commenting on the passage 漲海無崖岸船舶未會得逕過也 he says: 'La phrase chinoise n'est pas claire. Le sens que j'adopte . . . me semblerait favoriser l'idée d'un transbordement de marchandises à travers l'isthme de Kra; les jonques chinoises n'auraient pas osé se diriger directement des côtes de l'Annam sur le détroit de Malacca; par suite, obligées de longer la côte, elles évitaient une énorme perte de temps en s'arrêtant à l'isthme de Kra.'

[4] 中國南海古代交通叢考, map opposite p. 170.

[5] *Chau Ju-kua*, map at end.

[6] *JSSS*, vol. v, pt. 2 (1948), p. 21.

[7] See Gibson-Hill, *JMBRAS*, vol. xxviii, pt. 2 (1955), pp. 177–93.

[8] *JMBRAS*, vol. xvii, pt. 1 (1939), p. 201.

crosses from one sea to another. This, together with the fact that *Tun-sun* was in communication with countries beyond the Bay of Bengal and the South China Sea, and that traders came from both east and west, surely implies that the country occupied the whole breadth of the isthmus (Fig. 46). Those whose taste runs to historical speculation may well connect this confederacy of petty states with the archæological sites excavated by Professor Coedès in the lower Meklong valley (page 10 above).

2. CH'Ü-TU-K'UN 屈都昆 OR TU-K'UN 都昆

Our knowledge of the other two kingdoms which feature by name among Fan-man's list of conquests is meagre in the extreme, amounting to little more than bare mentions. *Ch'ü-tu-k'un* occurs in this form nowhere else in the Chinese records and cannot be located with any degree of precision. In the first place it may be the correct form of a place-name which is not repeated in any extant text, but the evidence discussed below makes this unlikely. Second, there is a country known as *Ch'ü-tu-ch'ien* 屈都乾 which, according to the *Chin-shu*,[1] was conquered by a king of *Campā* between A.D. 336 and 347. This kingdom is described at some length in the *T'ai-p'ing Yü Lan* (chapter 790), while the sixth century *Shui Ching Chu* (chapter 36) quotes the *Lin-i Chi* 林邑記 for an abbreviated form *Ch'ü-tu* 屈都. Yet if a king of *Fu-nan* had to cross the Gulf of Siam to reach *Ch'ü-tu-k'un* it could hardly have been anywhere near *Campā*.

The third alternative is to equate *Ch'ü-tu-k'un* with the *Tu-k'un* 都昆 mentioned in several other early works. The *T'ung Tien* (chapter 188), for example, tells us that this kingdom is one of four situated 3,000 *li* southwards beyond the Great Bay of *Chin-lin* 金隣大灣 and the *Wu-shih Wai-kuo Chuan* 吳時外國傳 adds that *huo-hsiang* grows there. These snippets of information are repeated in the *T'ai-p'ing Huan Yü Chi* (chapter 177) and the *T'ai-p'ing Yü Lan*, both of which also add certain significant details about the inhabitants of *Tu-k'un* and expand the remarks on *huo-hsiang*. The passage from the *T'ai-p'ing Yü Lan* is quoted below:

Chapter 788, folio 6 recto et verso.

隋書曰邊斗國一云班斗都昆國一作都雅拘利國一作九雅比嵩國並扶南度金隣大灣南行三千里有此國其農作與金隣同其人多白

[1] 晉書, Chap. 97.

色都昆出好棧香翟香及硫黃其翟香樹生千歲根本甚大伐之四面外皆朽敗唯中節堅眞芬香獨存取爲香

The *Sui-shu* states that the kingdom of *Pien-tou* (also called *Pan-tou*), the kingdom of *Tu-k'un* (also called *Tu-ya*), the kingdom of *Chü-li* (also called *Chiu-ya*) and the kingdom of *Pi-sung* are situated across the Great Bay of *Chin-lin* from *Fu-nan*, and 3,000 *li* southwards. Their agriculture is the same as that of *Chin-lin*. Among the inhabitants are many with white complexions. *Tu-k'un* produces good *chien-hsiang*,[1] *huo-hsiang*, and sulphur. The *huo-hsiang* tree lives for a thousand years. Its trunk and roots are very large. When it is cut, the bark rots; only in the centre is the core hard and sound, and only there is the fragrant smell preserved. It is gathered for use as a perfume.

In the botanical section of the *T'ai-p'ing Yü Lan* there is yet another mention of *Tu-k'un*.

Chapter 982, folio 2 recto.

吳時外國傳曰硫黃香出都昆國在扶南南三千餘里南州異物志同

The *Wu-shih Wai-kuo Chuan* states that the sulphurous perfume is produced in the kingdom of *Tu-k'un*, which is situated more than 3,000 *li* south of *Fu-nan* (The *Nan-chou I-wu Chih* also says this).

Finally on folio 4 recto of the same chapter the *T'ai-p'ing Yü Lan* quotes the following statement from the *Nan-fang Ts'ao-mu Chuang* 南方草木狀:

棧蜜香出都昆不知棧蜜香樹若爲但見香耳

. . . *Chien-mi-hsiang*[2] is produced in *Tu-k'un*. We do not know the *chien-mi-hsiang* tree, but we see the perfume.

That *Pien-tou*, *Tu-k'un* and *Chü-li* were on the opposite shores of the Gulf of Siam to *Fu-nan* implies that they were all places on the Malay Peninsula. Support is afforded to this view by the fact that *Tien-sun* and *Chiu-chih*, mentioned in the same paragraph of the *Liang-shu* as is *Ch'ü-tu-k'un*, were both beyond doubt situated on the Peninsula. On this showing the production of sulphur is anomalous for that mineral does not occur in the area. The nearest deposits are either those of the southern Shan States, a locality clearly at variance with the textual evidence, or those of Indonesia, which is barely compatible with the remarks in the *T'ai-p'ing Yü Lan*. More credible is the likelihood that 硫黃 of chapter 788 should read 硫黃香, sulphurous perfume, the phrase which is in fact used in chapter 982. What this mysterious perfume was we have no means of knowing.

[1] Aloeswood or eaglewood (Laufer, *JA*, tome xii, 1918, p. 26, note 2).

[2] Aloeswood.

3. CHIU-CHIH 九稚 OR CHÜ-LI 拘利

The third of Fan-man's conquests to be mentioned by name was the kingdom of *Chiu-chih* 九稚. There is no other mention of that state under this orthography, but the *Lo-yang Ch'ieh Lan Chi* of the sixth century tells us that a kingdom called *Kou-chih* 勾稚 was situated eleven days' voyage southwards from Tun-sun (page 19 above). In addition there is a *Chü-chih* 句稚 which appears in a quotation from the *Nan-chou I-wu Chih*, preserved in the *T'ai-p'ing Yü Lan*.[1]

南州異物志曰句稚去與遊八百里有江口西南向東北行極大崎頭出漲海中淺而多磁石

The *Nan-chou I-wu Chih* states that *Chü-chih* is 800 *li* from *Yü-yu*. There is an estuary running from south-west to north-east and a very large headland jutting into the *Chang-hai* (Gulf of Siam). The water is shallow and full of loadstones.

On the same folio, in the section on *Ko-ying* 歌營, there is a further quotation from the same source:

南州異物志曰歌營在句稚南可一月行

The *Nan-chou I-wu Chih* states that *Ko-ying* is about one month's journey south of *Chü-chih*.

Unfortunately neither *Yü-yu* nor *Ko-ying* can be identified, although the *Lo-yang Ch'ieh Lan Chi* makes it clear that the latter country was situated in the South Seas.[2]

It is evident from the *Liang-shu* (page 15 above) that *Chiu-chih* (which seems to have been only a scribal variation of *Chü-chih* and *Kou-chih)* was not far removed from *Tun-sun*, and there the matter might have rested had not Pelliot drawn attention to a suspiciously similar place-name in the same part of the world.[3] The quotation from the *Sui-shu* mentioned above (page 22) includes a kingdom called either *Chü-li* 拘利 or *Chü-ya* 拘雅 which, together with *Tu-k'un*, was some 3,000 *li* southwards from *Fu-nan* across the Great Bay of *Chin-lin*. In parallel versions in the *T'ai-p'ing Huan*

[1] Chap. 790, f. 7 verso.

[2] Chap. 4, f. 17 verso.

南中有歌營國去京師甚遠風土隔絕世不與中國交通雖二漢及魏亦未會至也
In the south is the country of *Ko-ying*, situated at a very great distance from the capital. It is a locality wholly remote, which has never entered into relations with the Middle Kingdom. Even during the two dynasties of Han and Wei no envoys came from there.

[3] *BEFEO*, tome iii, p. 266, note 3.

Yü Chi[1] and the *T'ung Tien*[2] there also occurs the form *Chiu-li* 九離. Again, in a gloss in the *Shui Ching Chu*,[3] which dates from the beginning of the sixth century, we find the following itinerary quoted from K'ang-T'ai's *Fu-nan T'u-su Chuan*.

發拘利口入大灣中正西北入可一年餘得天竺江口名恒水江口

On leaving the port of *Chü-li*, one enters a large bay. Going directly north-westwards, in rather more than a year one reaches the mouth of the River of India, that is, the mouth of the *Heng-shui* River (Ganges).

Clearly *Chü-li* was situated somewhere on the Malay Peninsula, and it seems not unlikely that 拘利, 九離, 九稚, 句稚 and 勾稚 are variant readings of the same place-name. Clearly 拘利 and 九離 are attempts by different authors to represent the same sounds, while the alternative 九雅 has crept in as a scribal error, the characters 離 and 雅 bearing some degree of resemblance to each other. *Chü* 句 is phonetically equivalent to 拘 and is easily mistaken for *kou* 勾. Anyone familiar with a text which has been copied repeatedly will realize the virtual impossibility of avoiding occasional errors of this nature.

Finally, *Chü-li* also features in the *Liang-shu*[4] in a more detailed version of the itinerary recorded in the *Shui Ching Chu*.

吳時扶南王范旃遣親人蘇物使其國從扶南發投拘利口循海大灣中正西北入歷灣邊數國可一年餘到天竺江口

. . . in the time of the Wu [dynasty], Fan-chan, the king of *Fu-nan*, sent one of his relations, Su-wu, on an embassy to this kingdom (India). From *Fu-nan*, going to the port of *Chü-li*, he [then] followed the sea into a large bay. Directly to the north-west he entered and passed through the bay, on the shores of which were several kingdoms. In rather more than a year he reached the mouth of the River of India.

Summarizing the argument propounded above, we find that a kingdom known variously as *Chü-li* or some variant of that form was situated south-west of *Fu-nan*, south-east of the Ganges and in the vicinity of *Tun-sun*, geographical exigencies which imply that it was on the Malay Peninsula. If *Kou-chih* is indeed a variant of the same name, then the kingdom of *Chü-li* included an estuary running from south-west to north-east and a headland protruding into a shallow reach of the Gulf of Siam. Furthermore, if Pelliot's

[1] Chap. 177.
[2] Chap. 188.
[3] Chap. 1, f. 12 verso.
[4] Chap. 54, f. 22 verso.

suggestion is accepted, it was also eleven days' sailing to the south of *Tun-sun*. Unfortunately none of these features is diagnostic and the most that can be hazarded is a situation on the isthmian tract of the Peninsula. The *Sui-shu* makes it clear that the territory of *Chü-li* bordered the Gulf of Siam, while the itineraries of the *Liang-shu* and *Shui Ching Chu* imply that it also reached to the west coast.

4. PI-SUNG 比嵩

Pi-sung is mentioned in the passage from the *Sui-shu* quoted above (page 22) as one of the kingdoms which, like *Tun-sun* and *Tu-k'un*, was situated 'across the Great Bay of *Chin-lin* from *Fu-nan* and 3,000 *li* southwards'. I have been unable to find any further reference to *Pi-sung* under this orthography, but there is a *P'i-tsung* 皮宗 mentioned in the *Ch'ien Han Shu* (page 11 above) which may well be an alternative transcription of the same name.

It has been established beyond doubt that at least two of the countries discussed in the preceding pages were situated on the Malay Peninsula, namely *Tun-sun* and *Chü-li*, and we can be fairly certain that *Tu-k'un*, *Pi-sung* and *Pan-tou* were also to be found in that locality. That these were not the only settlements on the Peninsula is both attested by the paragraph describing Fan-man's conquests and implied by Indian records (Chapters XI and XII). The economic geography of these city-states so far as it can be reconstructed from the scanty evidence available is discussed in Chapter XIX, while the correlation of the pale-complexioned people of *Pan-tou*, *Tu-k'un* and *Chü-li* with tribes mentioned in more or less contemporary Greek sources is reserved for Chapter X.

CHAPTER III

THE RED-EARTH LAND

CHINESE knowledge of the Malay Peninsula was considerably augmented in the early seventh century as the result of an embassy to the country of *Ch'ih-t'u* 赤土. The information obtained on this expedition first appeared in the *Ch'ih-t'u Kuo Chi* 赤土國記, a work in two *chuan*.[1] This is no longer extant but the substance of its narrative is preserved in parallel passages in the *Sui-shu*,[2] the *Pei-shih*,[3] the *T'ai-p'ing Yü Lan*[4] and the *Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao*.[5]

赤土國扶南之別種也在南海中水行百餘日而達所都土色多赤因以爲號東波羅刺國西婆羅娑國南訶羅旦國北拒大海地方數千里其王姓瞿曇氏名利富多塞不知有國近遠稱其父釋王位出家爲道傳位於利富多塞在位十六年矣有三妻並隣國王之女也居僧祇城有門三重相去各百許步每門圖畫飛仙仙人菩薩之像縣金花鈴毗婦女數十人或奏樂或捧金花又飾四婦人容飾如佛塔邊金剛力士之狀夾門而立門外者持兵仗門內者執白拂夾道垂素網綴花王宮諸屋悉是重閣北戶北面而坐坐三重之榻衣朝霞布冠金花冠垂雜寶瓔珞四女子立侍左右兵衛百餘人王榻後作一木龕以金銀五香木雜鈿之龕後懸一金光燄夾榻又樹二金鏡鏡前並陳金甕甕前各有金香爐當前置一金伏牛牛前樹壹寶蓋蓋左右皆有寶扇婆羅門等數百人東西重行相向而坐其官有薩陀迦羅一人陀拏達又二人迦利蜜迦三人共掌政事俱羅末帝一人掌刑法每城置那邪迦一人鉢帝十人其俗等皆穿耳剪髮無跪拜之禮以香油塗身其俗敬佛尤重婆羅門婦人作髻於項後男女通以朝霞朝雲雜色布爲衣豪富之室恣意華靡唯金鏁非王賜不得服用每婚嫁擇吉日女家先期五日作樂飲酒父執女手以授壻七日乃配焉既娶則分財別居唯幼子與父同居父母兄弟死則剔髮素服就水上構竹木爲棚棚內積薪以屍置上燒香建幡吹蠡擊鼓以送之縱火焚薪遂落於水貴賤皆同唯國王燒訖收灰貯以金瓶藏於廟屋冬夏常溫兩多

[1] *Hsin T'ang Shu*, chap. 58, f. 19 recto.
[2] Chap. 82, ff. 3 recto–5 verso.
[3] Chap. 95, ff. 11 verso–14 recto.
[4] Chap. 787, ff. 1 verso–3 recto.
[5] Chap. 331, ff. 2,602–3.

霽少種植無時特宜稻穄白豆黑麻自餘物產多同於交阯以甘蔗作酒雜以紫瓜根酒色黃赤味亦香美亦名椰漿爲酒煬帝即位募能通絕域者大業三年屯田主事常駿虞部主事王君政等請使赤土帝大悅賜駿等帛各百匹時服一襲而遣齎物五千段以賜赤土王其年十月駿等自南海郡乘舟晝夜二旬每值便風至焦石山而過東南泊陵伽鉢拔多洲西與林邑相對上有神祠焉又南行至師子石自是島嶼連接又行二三日西望見狼牙須國之山於是南達雞籠島至於赤土之界其王遣婆羅門鳩摩羅以舶三十艘來迎吹蠡擊鼓以樂隋使進金鏁以纜駿舩月餘至其都王遣其子那邪迦請與駿等禮見先遣人送金盤貯香花幷鏡鑷金合二枚貯香油金瓶八枚貯香水白疊布四條以擬供使者盥洗其日未時那邪迦又將象二頭持孔雀蓋以迎使人幷到金花金盤以藉詔函男女百人奏蠡鼓婆羅門二人導路到王宮駿等奉詔書上閣王以下皆坐宣詔訖引駿等坐奏天竺樂事畢駿等還館又遣婆羅門就館送食以草葉爲盤其大方丈因謂駿曰今是大國中人非復赤土國矣飲食疎薄願爲大國意而食之後數日請駿等入宴儀衛導從如初見之禮王前設兩牀牀上幷設草葉盤方一丈五尺上有黃白紫赤四色之餠牛羊魚鼈猪蝳蝑之肉百餘品延駿升牀從者坐於地席各以金鍾置酒女樂迭奏禮遺甚厚尋遣那邪迦隨駿貢方物幷獻金美蓉冠龍腦香以鑄金爲多羅葉隱起成文以爲表金函封之令婆羅門以香花奏蠡鼓而送之既入海見綠魚群飛水上浮海十餘日至林邑東南並山而行其海水闊千餘步色黃氣腥舟行一日不絕云是大魚糞也循海北岸達於交阯駿以六年春與那邪迦於弘農謁帝大悅賜駿等物二百段俱授秉義尉那邪迦等官賞各有差

The kingdom of *Ch'ih-t'u*, another part of *Fu-nan*, is situated in the South Seas. By sea one reaches it in more than a hundred days. The colour of the soil of the capital is mostly red, whence is derived the name [of the country]. Eastwards is the kingdom of *Po-lo-la*, to the west that of *P'o-lo-so*, and to the south that of *Ho-lo-tan*. Northwards it fronts on the ocean. The country is several thousand *li* in extent. The king's family name is Ch'ü-t'an,[1] his personal name is *Li-fu-to-se*. He knows nothing of adjacent or distant countries. According to his own account, his Buddhist father abdicated so that he could preach the Word, whereupon Li-fu-to-se reigned in his stead. He has ruled for sixteen years and has three wives from among the daughters of neighbouring kings.

He resides in the city of *Seng-chih*, which has triple gates more than a hundred paces apart. On each gate are paintings of spirits in flight, *bodhisattvas* and other immortals, and they are hung with golden flowers and light bells. Several tens of women either make music or hold up golden flowers and ornaments. Four men, dressed in the manner of *chin-kang*[2] giants on the sides of Buddhist pagodas,

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[1] G. H. Luce compares this name with the Ch'ü-t'an-hsiu-po-t'o-lo 瞿曇脩跋陁羅 or Gautama Subhadra, reported in chapter 54 of the *Liang-shu* as the name of the king of *Kan-to-li* (*JBRS*, vol. xiv, 1925, p. 173).

[2] Literally 'precious and hard', that is, 'can injure but cannot be injured', and thus used for some of the Buddhist deities.

stand at the gate. Those stationed on the outside of the gate grasp weapons of war, those on the inside hold white cloths in the passage-way and gather flowers into white nets. All the buildings in the royal palace consist of multiple pavilions with the doors on the northern side. The king sits on a three-tiered couch, facing north and dressed in rose-coloured cloth, with a chaplet of gold flowers and necklaces of varied jewels. Four damsels attend on his right hand and on his left, and more than a hundred soldiers mount guard. To the rear of the king's couch there is a wooden shrine inlaid with gold, silver and five perfumed woods, and behind the shrine is suspended a golden light. Beside the couch two metal mirrors are set up, before which are placed metal pitchers, each with a golden incense burner before it. In front of all these is a recumbent golden ox before which hangs a jewelled canopy, with precious fans on either side. Several hundred brahmans sit in rows facing each other on the eastern and western sides. The officials are: one *Sa-t'o-chia-lo;* two *T'o-na-ta-yu;*[1] three *Chia-li-mi-chia* in charge of political affairs; one *Chü-lo-mo-ti* administering criminal law. Each city appoints one *Na-ya-chia* and ten *Po-ti.*[2]

It is customary for all persons to pierce their ear lobes and cut their hair. The ceremony of prostration is not observed. The body is annointed with scented oils. It is the custom to worship the Buddha but greater respect is paid to the brahmans. Women gather their hair at the nape of the neck. Both men and women make clothes out of rose- and plain-coloured material. Although wealthy families are largely independent of authority, they affect a gold locket only by royal dispensation. For a wedding an auspicious day is selected. For five days before the chosen date the bride's family makes merry and carouses. Then the father, holding the girl's hand, delivers her to his son-in-law. On the seventh day the nuptial rites are completed and the couple considered united. After the marriage property is divided and a separate house built, but the young son must live with his father. On the death of a parent or brother [the mourner] shaves his hair and dresses in plain clothes. He roofs a chalet over the water with bamboo boughs, and piles firewood around the corpse, which is laid out inside. He burns incense, sets up a banner, blows on the conch-shell and beats a drum as an envoi; he then sets fire to the pile, after which the burnt wood finally falls into the water. Both nobility and commoners are treated in this way, but when the king has been cremated his ashes are preserved in a golden jar and deposited in a temple.[3]

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[1] *Pei-shih* reads one *T'o-na-ta-ch'a. T'ai-p'ing Yü Lan* and *Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao* read two *t'o-na-ta-yu* (又).

[2] Coedès has transcribed these titles as follows:

Sa-t'o-chia-lo: sādhukāra, 'benefactor' or preferably *sārdhakāra*, '*assistant*'.

T'o-na-ta-ch'a: dhanada, 'dispenser of blessings', a title which occurs on a seal from Oc-Eo. Hervey de Saint-Denys, whose text Coedès is using, reads 又. Coedès's restoration is obviously inadequate if we adopt the reading 又 of the *Pei-shih.*

Chia-li-mi-chia: karmika, 'agent'.

Chü-lo-mo-ti: kulapati, 'head of the house', a title which occurs in Cambodian epigraphy where it designates the superior of a religious institution.

Na-ya-chia: nāyaka, 'guide'. This title is found in an inscription from Lopburi.

Po-ti: pati, 'chief'. Cp. Malay *pati*, a term used as a component in many old names and dignities.

(Coedès, *Les états hindouisés*, p. 135; see also Coedès, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, vol. ii, p. 14 and Ferrand, *JA*, 1919, p. 257).

[3] All this ritual is strictly Hindu and should be compared with that described in Ma Tuan-lin's account of *Chen-la* (*Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao*, chap. 331, f. 2605). For the construction of royal mausoleums in Cambodia see Coedès, *BEFEO*, vol. XL (1940), pp. 315–43. Note, though, that the eating of beef, as related subsequently in the same text, is contrary to the Hindu ethic.

It is constantly warm in winter and summer. Rainy days are numerous, fine days few, and there is no special season for planting. [Conditions] allow [the cultivation of] padi, chi,[1] white beans and black hemp. Other products resemble those of *Chiao-chih* (Tong-king). Wine is made from sugar-cane mixed with the root of the purple gourd. The wine is yellowish red in colour, with a sweet flavour. It is also called coconut spirit.

On his accession to the throne, Yang-ti[2] called for men capable of opening up communications with far distant lands. In the third year of the Ta-yeh period (A.D. 607) Ch'ang-Chün, the Custodian of Military Property,[3] and Wang Chün-cheng, a Controller of Natural Resources, were among those who requested to be sent on an embassy to *Ch'ih-t'u*. The Emperor was extremely gratified and granted to each a 100 rolls of silk, together with a suit of clothes appropriate for the season, while he sent 5,000 different sorts of gifts to the king of *Ch'ih-t'u*. In the tenth moon (November or early December) of that year[4] Ch'ang-Chün took ship from the *Nan-hai* commandery (Canton). For twenty days and nights they sailed before a favourable wind (the north-east monsoon) and reached *Chiao-shih* (Scorched Rock) Mountain. Passing south-eastwards, they anchored at *Ling-ch'ieh-po-pa-to* Island, which faces *Lin-i (Campā)* on the west, and which has a temple on its summit. Then going southwards they reached *Shih-tzŭ-shih* (Lion Rock), whence there extended a chain of large and small islands. After two or three days' voyage they saw in the west the mountains of the country of *Lang-ya-hsü*.[5] Then, continuing southwards to *Chi-lung* (Fowl Cage) Island, they reached the borders of *Ch'ih-t'u*, whose king sent the Brahman Chiu-mo-lo, with thirty ocean-going junks, to welcome them. Conches were blown and drums beaten to entertain the Sui envoys on their arrival, and a metal cable was used as a hauser for Ch'ang-Chün's vessel.[6] It took more than a month to reach the capital.

The king sent his son, the Na-ya-chia, to welcome Ch'ang-Chün with appropriate ceremony. First he sent men to present a golden tray containing fragrant flowers, mirrors and golden forceps; two containers for aromatic oil; eight vases of scented water; and four lengths of white, folded cloth for the envoys to bathe with. On the same day at the hour of Wei (one to three p.m.), the Na-ya-chia again sent two elephants, bearing canopies of peacock feathers, to welcome the ambassadors, and a gilt-flowered, golden tray containing a decree. A hundred men and women sounded conches and drums and two Brahmans conducted the envoys to the royal palace. Ch'ang-Chün presented his credentials in the council-chamber, where those below the King were all seated. When the proclamation had been read Ch'ang-Chün and his retinue were invited to sit while Indian music was played. When this came to an end Ch'ang-Chün and his suite returned to their dwellings, and Brahmans were sent there to offer them food. Large leaves, ten feet square, were used as platters. The Brahmans then addressed Ch'ang-Chün, saying: 'We are now citizens of the Great Central States; no longer do we belong to the state of *Ch'ih-t'u*. Eat

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[1] A variety of panicled millet with a small, coarse grain resembling sorghum.

[2] Yang-ti ascended the throne in A.D. 604 but did not proclaim his year-period until 605.

[3] 屯田 = land given to military colonists. *Vide* Aoyama, *S-Z*, vol. lxiii, no. 1 (1954), pp. 17–57.

[4] In chapter 24, f. 10 recto the *Sui-shu* also attributes the expedition to 607, but in chap. 3, f. 7 recto the date is given as early in 608. By sailing in November, of course, the envoys left at the very beginning of the north-east monsoon.

[5] *Lang-ya-hsiu* (修) in *T'ung Tien*.

[6] Luce's translation (*JBRS*, 1925, p. 175) reads: 'Their boat being towed by cable, after more than a month they reached the capital', but the idea of towing is not implicit in the Chinese. For the use of 鎖 in the sense of 'cable' cp. *Tzŭ-shih Ching-hua* 子史精華, chap. 76, folio 5 verso: 鎖橫斷江路.

the coarse fare we provide for the sake of your great country.' A few days later Ch'ang-Chün and his companions were invited to a ceremonial feast. The pageantry was similar to that on their return from the first meeting, with guards leading the way. In front of the King two divans had been erected, on which were placed leaf-platters, each fifteen feet square, containing cakes of four colours, yellow, white, purple and red, together with beef-, mutton-, fish-, turtle-, pork- and tortoise-meats of more than a hundred sorts. Then the king requested Ch'ang-Chün to mount on to the divan, while his retinue sat on the bare ground. Each took a golden goblet containing wine while maidens played music in rotation, and valuable presents were given. Subsequently the Na-ya-chia was sent to accompany Ch'ang-Chün to offer up local products as tribute, to present gold, a crown ornamented with hibiscus design and Barus camphor, to take a gold cast of a *to-lo* leaf on which was an inscription in relief, and to seal it in a golden casket. Brahmans were commanded to take fragrant flowers and, playing upon conch-shells and drums, to act as an escort.

On entering the sea the envoys saw shoals of green fish flying over the water. After voyaging over the sea for more than ten days they reached the south-eastern, mountainous part of *Lin-i* and passed through a strait more than a thousand paces wide, where for a whole day's sail the air around the vessel was yellowish and fetid. This was said to be [caused by] the dung of great fish. Following the northern shore of the sea the envoys reached *Chiao-chih* (Tong-king). In the spring of the sixth year [of Ta-yeh] Ch'ang-Chün, together with the Na-ya-chia, visited the Emperor in Hung-nung, who bestowed upon Ch'ang-Chün and his suite 200 articles, and conferred upon them all the official rank of Ping-i-wei (Officer of Justice). The Na-ya-chia and his entourage were given official ranks and rewards, each in his degree.

Similar descriptions occur in the *T'ung Tien*[1] and the *T'ai-p'ing Huan Yü Chi*.[2] On the whole these accounts are slightly abbreviated, but in a few particulars they implement the material quoted above. It is confirmed, for example, that *Ch'ih-t'u* first entered into relations with China during the Sui dynasty 赤土國隋時通焉. The rest of this additional information, doubtless abstracted from the *Ch'ih-t'u Kuo Chi*, is listed below.

直崖州之南 . . . *Ch'ih-t'u* is directly south of *Yai-chou (T'ung Tien, T'ai-p'ing Huan Yü Chi)*.

居僧祇城亦曰獅子城 . . . [The King] resides in the city of *Seng-chih*, which is also called *Shih-tzŭ* (Lion) City *(T'ung Tien, T'ai-p'ing Huan Yü Chi)*.

戲有雙六雞卜 . . . Double six and chicken-bone divination are among the games *(T'ung Tien)*.

冬至之日影直庄下夏至日影在南 . . . At the winter solstice shadows are directly below, at the summer solstice they fall to the south *(T'ung Tien)*.

These texts also contain a number of variant readings. The *Po-lo-la* of the *Sui-shu* becomes in the *T'ung Tien*, *Po-lo-ch'a* 波羅剎; *P'o-lo-so* becomes *Lo-p'o* 羅婆 and *Ho-lo-tan* becomes *Ho-lo-ch'ieh* 訶羅且. Finally, for *T'o-na-ta-ch'a* the *T'ai-p'ing Huan Yü Chi* reads *T'o-na-ta-i* 陀拏達義.

[1] Chap. 188, ff. 1,009–10.

[2] Chap. 177, ff. 1 verso–3 recto.

Other references to *Ch'ih-t'u* are merely incidental. In their sections on *P'o-li* 婆利 the *Sui-shu*[1] and the *Pei-shih*[2] relate that:

自交阯淨海南過赤土丹丹乃至其國

From *Chiao-chih* (Tong-king), sailing southwards, one passes *Ch'ih-t'u* and *Tan-tan*, and reaches that country [*P'o-li*].

Much the same information is also recorded in both the T'ang histories,[3] while the earlier of these provides a few additional scraps of information:[4]

其東郎羅刹也與婆利同俗隋煬帝遣常駿使赤土遂通中國赤土西南入海得婆羅

East [of *P'o-li*] is *Lo-ch'a*. Its customs are the same as those of *P'o-li*. Yang-ti of the Sui dynasty sent Ch'ang-Chün on a mission to *Ch'ih-t'u*, whereupon it [*Lo-ch'a*] entered into communication with China. South-west of *Ch'ih-t'u* one enters the sea and reaches *P'o-lo*.

The *T'ai-p'ing Huan Yü Chi* also quotes a confused itinerary in which *Ch'ih-t'u* features:[5]

金利毘逝[6] 國在京西南四萬餘里行經丹丹國 . . . [here follows a disordered list of countries on the route from *Chin-li-p'i-shih*[6] to *Campā*] . . . 西去赤土國千五百里 . . .

The Kingdom of *Chin-li-p'i-shih*[7] is situated more than 40,000 *li* to the south-west of the capital. One passes by the kingdom of *Tan-tan* . . . to the west (*Chin-li-p'i-shih*) is 1,500 *li* from the kingdom of *Ch'ih-t'u* . . .

Finally, the *Pei-shih* compares the material culture of *Ch'ih-t'u* with that of *Chen-la* (器物頗類赤土),[8] and the *Hsin T'ang Shu* notes the similarity between the customs of *Ch'ih-t'u* and those of *Ko-lo* and *Dvāravatī*.

[1] Chap. 82, f. 7 verso.

[2] Chap. 95, f. 16 recto.

[3] *Hsin T'ang Shu*, chap. 222C, f. 2 recto and *Chiu T'ang Shu*, chap. 197, f. 2 recto.

[4] *Hsin T'ang Shu*, chap. 222C, f. 2 recto.

[5] Chap. 177, f. 13 recto. This itinerary is also found with slight variations in the *T'ai-p'ing Yü Lan*, chap. 788, ff. 6 verso–7 recto, the *T'ang-hui-yao* 唐會要, chap. 100 and the *Ts'ĕ-fu Yüan-kuei* 冊府元龜 chap. 969. The *T'ai-p'ing Yü Lan* acknowledges its source as the *T'ang Shu* (唐書曰), probably meaning the *T'ang-shih-lun-tuan* 唐史論斷 (p. 18 above, note 3).

[6] The *T'ang-hui-yao* reads *Chin-li-p'i chia* (迦), presumably a scribal error.

[7] Pelliot (*BEFEO*, tome iv, 1904, pp. 324–5, note 5) and Luce (*JBRS*, vol. xiv, 1925, p. 176) suggest that this is a transcription of *Śri Vijaya*. In any case the country seems to have been in the South Seas.

[8] Chap. 95, f. 14 verso.

Traditional Chinese scholarship has nearly always regarded the kingdom of *Ch'ih-t'u* as occupying the Chao P'raya basin. The earliest Western scholar to investigate this problem was Abel-Rémusat in 1829.[1] He adopted this identification and was followed in turn by de Rosny,[2] Schlegel,[3] Aymonier,[4] Hirth and Rockhill[5] and Pelliot,[6] while even as late as 1938 Le May accepted this interpretation.[7] Meanwhile other investigators were abandoning Siam in favour of the Malay Peninsula as the site of *Ch'ih-t'u*. Among the first of these was Kern.[8] A few years later Ferrand proposed the northern part of the isthmus.[9] Moens[10] and Coedès[11] favoured Patalung, but Briggs postulated a state which, while reaching right across the isthmus, had as its focus a capital in Patani.[12] Luce concurred in this view,[13] while Wales argued strongly for Kedah.[14]

Oriental authors have also advanced a variety of opinions. Some, such as the Siamese scholar Khun Ciri Vadhana Anadra[15] and Takakuwa Komakichi,[16] have located *Ch'ih-t'u* in the northern part of the Malay Peninsula. Others of the Japanese school of historical geographers have preferred to locate it in South Malaya or even in Sumatra. Kuwata Rokuro, for example, identified it with Palembang,[17] Miyazaki Ichisada with Jambi,[18] while both Adachi Kiroku and Yamamoto Tatsuro[19] preferred the southern part of

[1] *Nouveaux mélanges asiatiques*, tome ii, p. 78, note.
[2] *Les peuples orientaux connus des anciens Chinois*, p. 198.
[3] *TP*, vol. ix (1898), p. 91.
[4] *Le Cambodge*, tome iii (1903), p. 349.
[5] *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 8.
[6] *BEFEO*, tome iii (1903), p. 272.
[7] *A concise history of Buddhist art in Siam*, pp. 55–6.
[8] *VMKAW/AL*, 3rd series, pt. 1, pp. 8–9 and *BKI*, 4th series, pt. 10, pp. 527–8.
[9] *JA*, tome xiii, (1919), pp. 256–7, note 4; 299; 307–8.
[10] *JMBRAS*, vol. xvii, pt. 2 (1940), pp. 18–9 and 31.
[11] *Les états hindouisés*, p. 89.
[12] *FEQ*, vol. ix, pt. 1 (1949), pp. 246–7.
[13] *JBRS*, vol. xiv (1925), p. 178.
[14] *Towards Angkor*, pp. 28–9.
[15] *Suvarṇabhūmi or the Golden Land* (Bangkok).
[16] *S-Z*, Band xxxi (1920) and Band xxxii (1921). For pagination see bibliography p. 364.
[17] *T-G*, vol. ix (1919), pp. 347–82 and vol. x (1920), pp. 127–48.
[18] *HTR* (1950), pp. 915–48.
[19] *WTR* (1951), pp. 778–92.

the Malay Peninsula. Few modern Chinese historians have investigated this problem, but among their number are Feng Cheng-chün[1] and Hsü Yün-ts'iao.[2] The former placed *Ch'ih-t'u* in the centre of the Malay Peninsula (赤土應在馬來半島之中), Professor Hsü preferred the neighbourhood of Singora.

In any attempt to define the site of *Ch'ih-t'u* certain general statements from the *Sui-shu* demand our attention. In the first place constant high temperatures and a heavy rainfall, together with the lack of a particular planting season, betoken an equatorial environment, while the crops mentioned, particularly padi and sugar-cane, are also native to those parts. In such regions red soils are practically ubiquitous and would hardly have given a name to a country. The eponymous feature is more likely to have been a scaur formed by slumping on a hill-side or cliff-face. Kern connected this kingdom with the *Raktamṛttika* or Red-Earth Land of the Kědah Sanskrit inscription (page 274) but in a land of Red Earths and Laterites such a name would probaby recur frequently. There are, for example, numerous instances of the toponym Tanah Merah on the present-day map of Malaya.

The statement that shadows were cast vertically downwards at the winter solstice and fell to the south at the summer solstice is erroneous, as this could only happen in a country situated on the Tropic of Capricorn. It is, nevertheless, difficult to see how such a mistake could have arisen for the facts are simply matters of observation. We must suppose that the mistake is the result of a scribal error, but if so, it is an error not easily amended. Reversing the two halves of the statement so that vertical shadows fall at the summer solstice merely places *Ch'ih-t'u* on the northern tropic, that is, north of Ch'ang-Chün's port of embarkation.

Two other sets of observations from the above texts remain to be investigated: the position of *Ch'ih-t'u* relative to neighbouring countries, and the itinerary of the Chinese envoys. I have shown elsewhere[3] that the spatial relationships are so ambiguous and contradictory that they cannot be resolved, but the fact that the northern boundary of *Ch'ih-t'u* was the ocean disposes of those hypotheses which locate the state in the Chao P'rya basin.

[1] 中國南洋交通史, pp. 38–41.
[2] *JSSS*, vol. ii (1941), pp. 1–14.
[3] *JMBRAS*, vol. xxx, pt. 1 (1957), pp. 94–5.

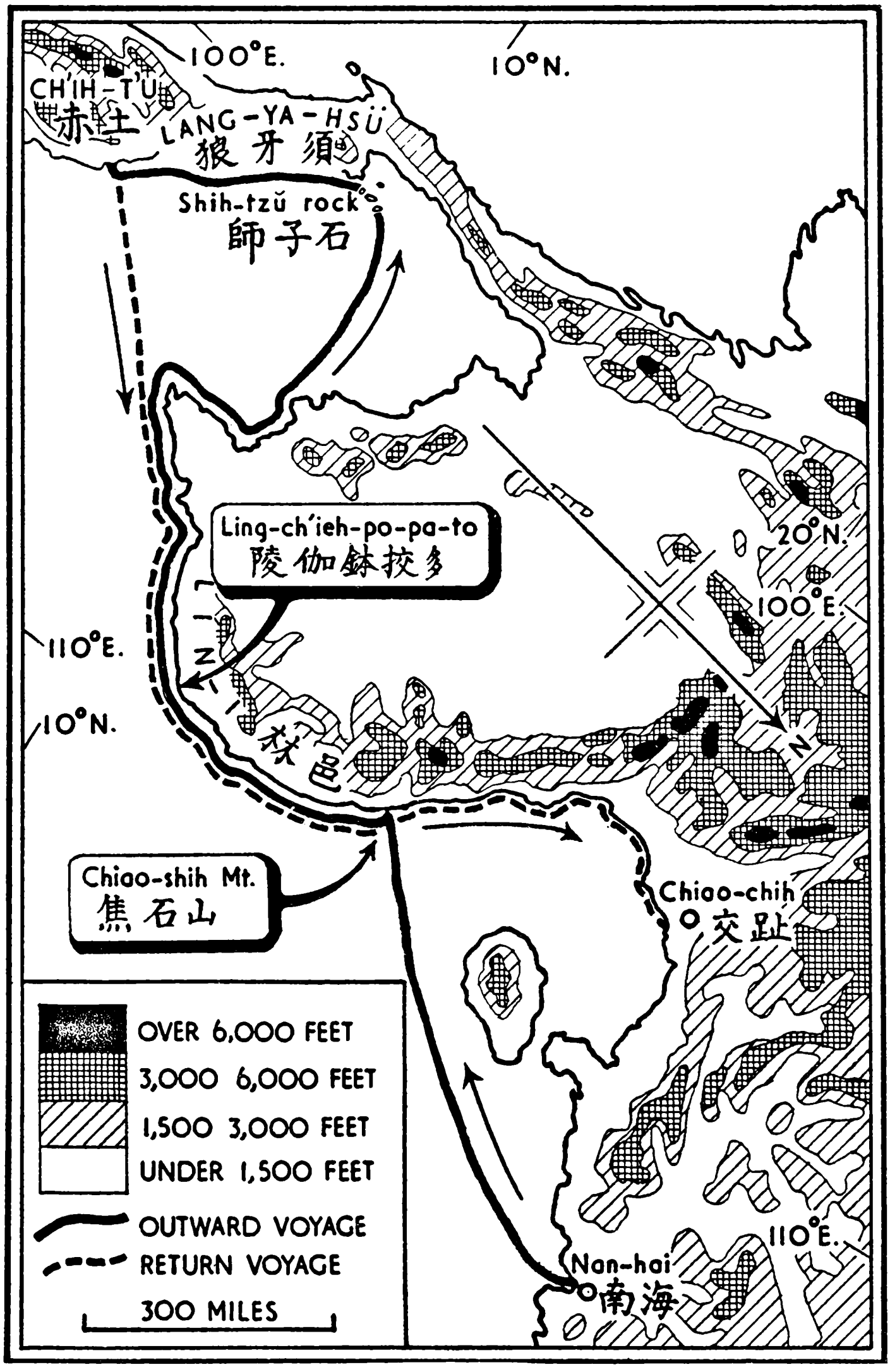

Fig. 9. Voyage of the Sui envoys, A.D. 607-10. Based on information in the Sui-shu, *chap. 82. I have taken the outward track to the west of Hai-nan because of the extreme difficulty of navigating between that island and the Lui-chou Peninsula (vide* China Sea Pilot, *1937, pp. 389-90).*

Let us now turn to Ch'ang-Chün's itinerary. The first stage of any importance for present purposes is the point of departure from the coast of *Campā*, namely the temple-crowned island of *Ling-ch'ieh-po-pa-to* (Fig. 9). This has been variously identified[1] but the most likely suggestion is that the Chinese form was a transcription of Lingaparvata Island.[2] Thence the course was set southwards to Lion Rock which marked the beginning of an archipelago. Whether this bearing should be interpreted literally is more than doubtful; probably it meant simply 'along the route to the South Seas'. Then, fortunately for us, some two or three days later the pilot obtained a running fix on the mountains of *Lang-ya-hsü*, a kingdom which has been located with a considerable degree of certainty in the vicinity of modern Patani.[3] The remainder of the voyage is poorly logged, lacking time or distance: 'continuing southwards to *Chi-lung* (Fowl Cage) Island, the expedition reached the borders of *Ch'ih-t'u*.' Professor Hsü Yün-ts'iao[4] discerns in Lion Rock a reference to Ko Si-Chang, one of a group of islets in the Bight of Bangkok which is today known to sailors as 'the Lion'. Khun Ciri Vadhana Anadra's identification of Fowl Cage Island with Ko Rang-Khai,[5] situated off Chump'on, also depends on the similarity of an ancient and a modern name, for the Siamese means Cock Cage Island. This proposal can be accepted only if we allow *Lang-ya-hsü* a considerable northward extension in the early seventh century, but identifications based on such similarities of toponomy may well occasion some scepticism. I have elsewhere suggested—with some misgiving, it is true—that the Lion Rock archipelago was the islands, including Pa Ngan and Samui, lying off the Bay of Bandon. However we interpret the log of the voyage, it is undeniable that it smacks of coastal sailing.

The distance from *Lang-ya-hsü* to *Ch'ih-t'u* is not stated in Chang-Ch'ün's report, but one point has passed unnoticed by

[1] Ting-Ch'ien took it to be Pulau Condor; Fujita Toyohachi, who seems to have regarded this *Sui-shu* name as identical with the *Ling-shan* 陵山 of the *Hsin T'ang Shu* and later works, thought it was in the Gulf of San-ho, north of Qui-Nhon.

[2] Ferrand, *JA*, tome xiii (1919), p. 308; Luce, *JBRS*, vol. xiv (1925), p. 174 and Briggs, *FEQ*, vol. ix, pt. 1 (1949), p. 265.

[3] *Vide* Chap. xvi.

[4] *JSSS*, vol. ii, pt. 3 (1941), p. 8. Cp. Ting-Ch'ien who took Lion Rock to be one of the Pěrhěntian Islands, Gerini who suggested Pulau Sapata and Fujita Toyohachi who preferred the Brothers.

[5] Cp. Ting-Ch'ien's identification with Great Rědang Island.

those Japanese geographers who locate the Red-Earth Land in South Malaya or Sumatra. The chapter on *Ch'ih-t'u* in the *Sui-shu* concludes with an abbreviated account of the return voyage, whence we learn that it was only just over ten days' sailing from the frontiers of *Ch'ih-t'u* right back to south-eastern *Campā*. This, taken in conjunction with the position of *Ch'ih-t'u* relative to *Lang-ya-hsü*, can only imply that the Chinese envoys visited a state in the region of north-eastern Malaya.

One other point is worth investigation. The capital of *Ch'ih-t'u*, known either as *Seng-chih* or *Shih-tzŭ*, was one month's journey inland, and was, therefore, in the *ulu* of an east-coast river. Definitive certainty is not attainable on such slender evidence but the Kĕlantan River springs immediately to mind. Not only is this river navigable by fair-sized boats for nearly a hundred miles, but it also affords access to the gold-fields of Ulu Pahang.

CHAPTER IV

TOWARDS THE HOLY LAND

BUDDHIST scriptures reached China during the first century A.D. or earlier, and Chinese devotees soon began to undertake pilgrimages to India, the Holy Land of their faith, there to study Sanskrit texts and commentaries. Of the many hundreds who endured the rigours of the journey two are of special interest to us for they recorded their travels in South-East Asia, while a third reported by hearsay on some of the countries in that part of the world.

The earliest of the pilgrims whose writings have been preserved is Shih Fa-Hsien[1] 釋法顯, who set out for India by way of Central Asia in A.D. 399. In 413–4 he returned by the sea-route, of which he has left the following account.

即載商人大船上, 可有二百餘人, 後係一小舶, 海行難嶮, 以備大舶毀壞, 得好信風, 東下二[2]日, 便值大風, 舶漏水入, 商人欲趣小舶, 小舶上人, 恐人來多, 即斫絙斷, 商人大怖, 命在須臾, 恐舶水滿, 即取麤財貨, 擲著水中, 法顯亦以君墀, 及澡罐幷餘物, 棄擲海中, 但恐商人擲去經像, 唯一心念觀世音, 及歸命漢地衆僧, 我遠行求法, 願威神歸流得到所止, 如是大風晝夜十三日, 到一島邊, 潮退之後, 見船漏處即補塞之, 於是復前. 海中多有抄賊遇輒無全, 大海彌漫無邊不識東西, 唯望日月星宿而進, 若陰雨時爲逐風去, 亦無所准, 當夜闇時, 但見大浪相搏, 晃若火色, 黿鼉水性怪異之屬, 商人荒懅, 不知那向, 海深無底, 又無下石住處, 至天晴已乃知東西還復望正而進, 若値伏石, 則無活路, 如是九十許日, 乃到一國, 名耶婆提, 其國外道婆羅門興盛佛法不足言. 停此國五月日, 復隨他商人大舶上, 亦二百許人, 賫五十日粮, 以四月十六日發,

[1] Shih 釋 is an abbreviation of 釋迦牟尼 Śākyamuni, a name of the Buddha, and may be understood to mean 'Buddhist'. Fa-Hsien, meaning 'Illustrious in the Law', was the clerical name of this monk, formerly known as Kung. In the *T'ung Tien* he appears as Fa-Ming 法明 because, after the character *hsien* had been appropriated by the Emperor Chung-Tsung, it was no longer available for lesser mortals.

[2] Some editions of the text read 三 three.

法顯於舶上安居, 東北行趣廣州, 一月餘日, 夜鼓二時, 遇黑風暴雨, 商人賈客皆悉惶怖, 法顯爾時, 亦一心念觀世音及漢地衆僧, 蒙威神祐, 得至天曉曉已, 諸婆羅門議言, 坐載此沙門使我不利遭此大苦當下比丘, 置海島邊, 不可爲一人令我等危嶮, 法顯檀越言, 汝若下此比丘, 亦幷下我, 不爾, 便當殺我, 如其下此沙門, 吾到漢地, 當向國王言汝也, 漢地王亦敬信佛法重比丘僧, 諸商人躊躇, 不敢便下, 于時天多連陰, 海師相望僻誤遂經七十餘日, 粮食水漿欲盡, 取海鹹水作食, 分好水, 人可得二升, 遂便欲盡商人議言常行時政可五十日, 便到廣州, 今已過期多日, 將無僻耶即便西北行求岸晝夜十二日到長廣郡界.[1]

. . . he took passage on board a large merchant-vessel, on which there were over two hundred souls, and astern of which there was a smaller vessel in tow in case of accidents at sea and destruction of the big vessel. Catching a fair wind, they sailed eastwards for two days; then they encountered a heavy gale, and the vessel sprang a leak. The merchants wished to get aboard the smaller vessel; but the men on the latter, fearing that they would be swamped by numbers, quickly cut the tow-rope in two. The merchants were terrified, for death was close at hand; and fearing that the vessel would fill, they promptly took what bulky goods there were and threw them into the sea. Fa-Hsien also took his pitcher and ewer, with whatever else he could spare, and threw them into the sea; but he was afraid that the merchants would throw over his books and his images, and accordingly fixed his whole thoughts on Kuan-Yin, the Hearer of Prayers, and put his life into the hands of the Catholic Church in China, saying, 'I have journeyed far on behalf of the Faith. O that by your awful power you would grant me a safe return from my wanderings'.

The gale blew on for thirteen days and nights, when they arrived alongside of an island, and then, at ebb-tide, they saw the place where the vessel leaked and forthwith stopped it up, after which they again proceeded on their way.

This sea is infested with pirates, to meet whom is death. The expanse of ocean is boundless, east and west are not distinguishable; only by observation of the sun, moon, and constellations is progress to be made. In cloudy and rainy weather our vessel drifted at the mercy of the wind, without keeping any definite course. In the darkness of the night nothing was to be seen but the great waves beating upon one another and flashing forth light like fire, huge turtles, sea-lizards, and such-like monsters of the deep. Then the merchants lost heart, not knowing whither they were going, and the sea being deep, without bottom, they had no place where they could cast their stone-anchor and stop. When the sky had cleared, they were able to tell east from west and again to proceed on their proper course; but had they struck a hidden rock, there would have been no way of escape.

And so they went on for more than ninety days until they reached a country named *Yeh-p'o-ti*, where heresies and Brahmanism were flourishing, while the Faith of Buddha was in a very unsatisfactory condition.

After having remained in this country for five months or so, Fa-Hsien again shipped on board another large merchant-vessel which also carried over two hundred persons. They took with them provisions for fifty days and set sail on the 16th of the fourth moon, and Fa-Hsien went into retreat on board the vessel. A north-east course was set in order to reach Canton; and over a month had elapsed when one night in the second watch (9–11 p.m.) they encountered

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[1] Reproduced from Legge, *A record of Buddhistic kingdoms*, ff. 42–3.

a violent gale with tempestuous rain, at which the travelling merchants and traders who were going to their homes were much frightened. However, Fa-Hsien once more invoked the Hearer of Prayers and the Catholic Church in China, and was accorded the protection of their awful power until day broke. As soon as it was light, the Brahmans took counsel together and said, 'Having this Buddhist monk on board has been our undoing, causing us to get into this trouble. We ought to land the religious mendicant on some island; it is not right to endanger all our lives for one man.' A 'religious protector' of Fa-Hsien's replied, saying, 'If you put this religious mendicant ashore, you shall also land me with him; if not, you had better kill me, for supposing that you land him, when I reach China I will report you to the king who is a reverent believer in the Buddhist Faith and honours religious mendicants.' At this the merchants wavered and did not dare to land him just then.

Meanwhile the sky was constantly darkened and the captain lost his reckoning. So they went on for seventy days until their provisions and water were nearly exhausted, and they had to use sea-water for cooking, dividing the fresh water so that each man got about two pints. When all was nearly consumed, the merchants consulted and said, 'The ordinary time for the voyage to Canton is exactly fifty days. We have now exceeded that limit by many days; must we not have gone out of our course?'

Thereupon they proceeded in a north-westerly direction, seeking for land; and after twelve days and nights arrived south of the Lao Mountain [on the Shantung promontory] at the boundary of the Prefecture of *Ch'ang-kuang* [the modern Kiao-chou].[1]

Most commentators have been content to follow Wilson, Sykes and Legge who depicted Fa-Hsien's route as entering the Archipelago by way of Sunda Strait,[2] but nearly twenty years ago Grimes showed that such a course was compatible neither with the wind circulation of the Indian Ocean nor with Fa-Hsien's own evidence.[3] As the ship's course was set eastwards from Ceylon the master could have had no other intention than to enter the Strait of Malacca at the northern end (Fig. 10). After two days, however, the vessel encountered a Bay of Bengal cyclone, and as these almost invariably form north of 12° N. latitude, it would have experienced the strong south-westerly winds on the southern side of the cyclonic core. The effect would have been to carry the ship northwards of its intended track during the thirteen days of the storm, so that the island where it was careened and caulked was one of the Andamans. Thence, Fa-Hsien relates, the ship resumed its correct course and after ninety days reached *Yeh-p'o-ti* (North-West Borneo),[4] where Fa-Hsien stayed for five months until

[1] Based on the translation of Giles, *The travels of Fa-Hsien*, pp. 76–9.

[2] Wilson, *JRAS*, vol. v (1838–9), pp. 108–40; Sykes, *JRAS*, vol. vi (1840–1), pp. 248–484; and Legge, *A record*, map opp. p. 1. Cp. Giles, *The travels of Fa-hsien*, map at end, and recently, Sellman, *An outline atlas of Eastern history*, map 14.

[3] Grimes, *JMBRAS*, vol. xix, pt. 1 (1941), pp. 76–92.

[4] Braddell, *JMBRAS*, vol. xix, pt. 1 (1941), p. 46 *et seq.*

mid-May. This, the first date mentioned in the account is the clue to the plan of the whole voyage. Clearly Fa-Hsien intended to cross the Bay of Bengal on the south-west monsoon and then take advantage of the short season of north-westerlies to navigate the

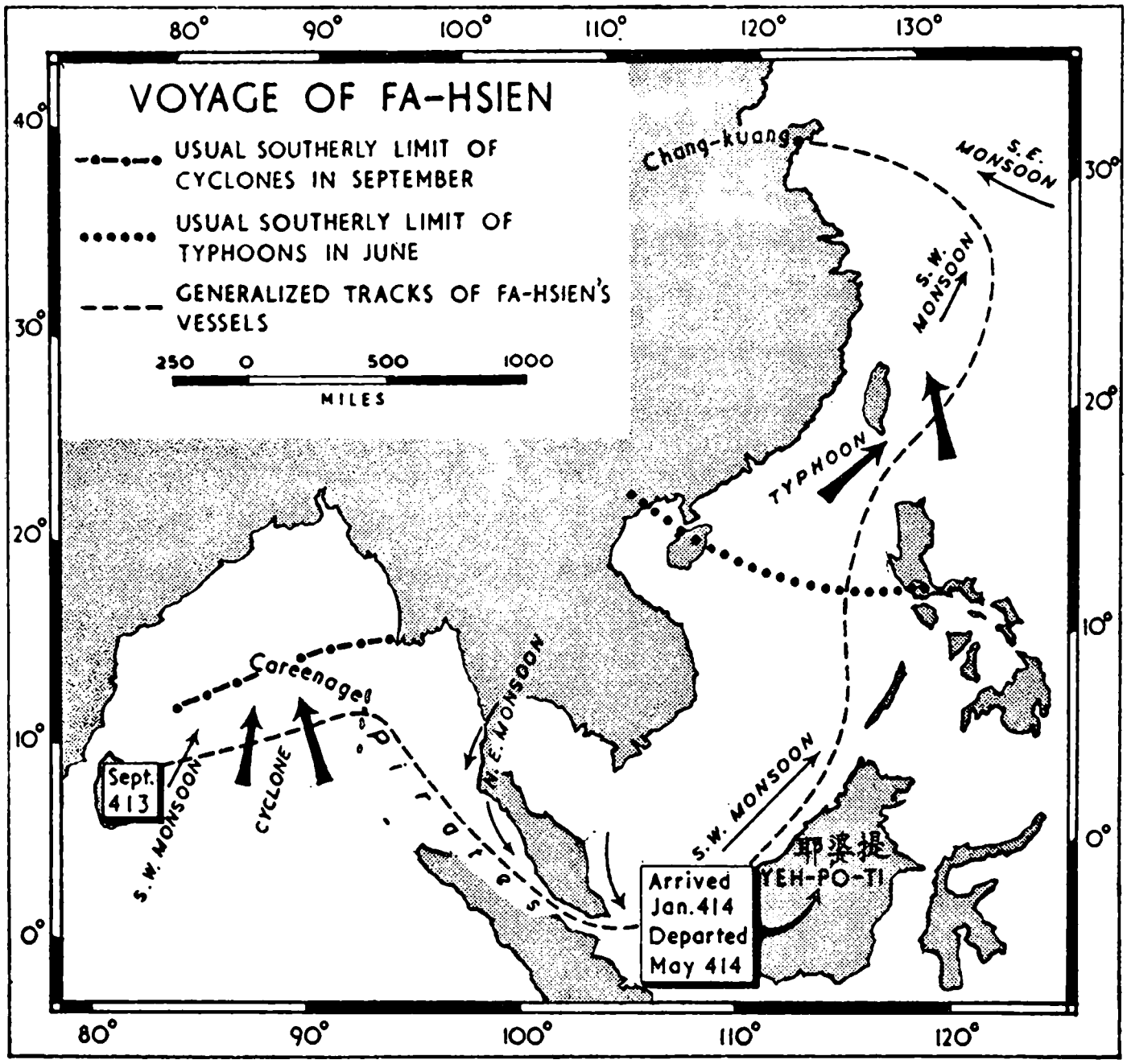

Fig. 10. The voyage of Fa-Hsien, September 413–June 414. The arrows indicate the winds experienced on particular sections of the voyage, thicknesses of the shafts being in rough proportion to velocities.

Malacca Strait. Owing to his ship being blown off course to the north, he arrived too late to catch the north-westerlies and was doubtless brought down the strait on the north-east monsoon of November and December. The five-months' delay is then readily explicable as the period of waiting for the change of the monsoon before completing the voyage to China.

In mid-May Fa-Hsien sailed from Borneo before the south-west monsoon with provisions for fifty days. In mid-June he encountered a China Sea typhoon. The most southerly track of typhoons in

that month is approximately a line from Canton to Manila so that Fa-Hsien would not be likely to have met this one until he reached a position about 18°N, 116°E. The precise track of his vessel during the typhoon is uncertain, but most probably it lay between Taiwan and Luzon. After a total sailing time of ninety days the mariners, realizing they must have overshot their landfall, decided to alter course to north-west. Fa-Hsien does not say so but it is pretty clear that this decision was made when the vessel encountered the prevailing south-easterly winds somewhere about 30°N, 126°E. Thus, after a further twelve days' sailing, the voyagers at last set foot in the 'Border Land'.[1]

The next pilgrim to leave a record of South-East Asia is Hsüan-Tsang who visited India from A.D. 629–45. Although he travelled both ways by land, he did visit *Samataṭa*, a kingdom in what is now Bengal and reported on South-East Asia by hearsay. His evidence will be discussed when we come to study *Langkasuka* in Chapter XVI.

Finally, the most valuable information about the sea-route through Malayan waters is to be gleaned from the *Memoir on the Eminent Monks who sought the Law in the West during the Great T'ang Dynasty*[2] by I-Ching 義淨, a monk who himself spent the years from 671–95 in India and the South Seas. The *Memoir* comprises a series of biographies wherein are recounted briefly the lives and voyages of sixty Buddhist monks, mostly Chinese, who undertook pilgrimages to India in the second half of the seventh century. I-Ching's own voyage to India is described as follows:[3]

于時廣莫初颺, 向朱方而百丈雙挂, 離箕創節, 棄玄朔而五兩單飛, 長截洪溟, 似山之濤橫海, 斜通巨壑, 如雲之浪滔天, 未隔兩旬果之佛逝經停六月漸學聲明, 王贈支持送往末羅瑜國復停兩月轉向羯茶, 至十二月舉帆還乘王舶漸向東天矣. 從羯茶北行十日餘至裸人國　　從茲更半月許望西北行, 遂達耽摩立底國.

At the time when the monsoon began to blow, we set sail for the south, with yards a hundred cubits long suspended from above in pairs. In the beginning

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[1] For so Fa-Hsien called China, reserving 'Central States' for India, the Holy Land of Buddhism.

[2] *Ta-T'ang Hsi-yü Ch'iu-fa Kao-seng Chuan* 大唐西域求法高僧傳.

[3] *Ta-T'ang Hsi-yü Ch'iu-fa Kao-seng Chuan*, f. 98 recto et verso.

of the season in which we leave the constellation Chi,[1] the five-tiered sails carried us away from the sombre north. For long we voyaged over the illimitable deep, where the sea was intersected by mountainous waves and, slanting across the mighty ocean, enormous swells reached cloud-like to the sky. In less than twenty days we reached [*Shih-li-*]*Fo-shih (Śrī Vijaya)* where I spent six months learning the Śabdavidya (Sanskrit grammar). The king befriended me and sent me to the country of *Mo-lo-yu (Malāyu* = Jambi), where I stayed for two months. Then I changed direction to go to *Chieh-ch'a* (Kědah). In the twelfth month I embarked in the king's ship and set sail for India. Sailing northwards from *Chieh-ch'a* for more than ten days, we came to the *Kingdom of the Naked People* (Nicobar Islands)[2] . . . From here, sailing in a north-westerly direction for half a month, we came to *Tan-mo-li-ti (Tāmralipti)*.

Thus I-Ching sailed from Canton on the north-east monsoon, and arrived in *Śrī Vijaya*, the great Sumatran centre of Mahayanist scholarship, towards the end of the year A.D. 671. Some six months later he made his way to *Malāyu* at the very beginning of the south-west monsoon, when winds in the Strait of Malacca were still light and variable. Two months later he took advantage of the south-westerlies to complete his voyage down the Strait as far as Kědah. Early in 673, when the north-east monsoon was still firmly established, I-Ching set out across the Indian Ocean. After six days he reached the Nicobar Islands, and another fortnight brought him to *Tāmralipti* (Tamluk). The meagre account of his return to *Śrī Vijaya* in 685 as related in the *Memoir* is somewhat amplified in another work by the same author:[3]

[*Tāmralipti*] is the place where we embark when returning to China. Sailing from here towards the south-east, in two months we come to *Chieh-ch'a*. By this time a ship from [*Shih-li-*]*Fo-shih* will have arrived, generally in the first or second month of the year. . . . We stay in *Chieh-ch'a* until winter, and then embark on a ship for the south. After a month we come to the country of *Mo-lo-yu* which has now become *Fo-shih*. . . . We generally arrive in the first or second month. We stay there until mid-summer, when we sail to the north and reach *Kuang-fu* (Kuang-tung) in about a month. The voyage is completed by the end of the first half of the year.

This passage shows that it was customary for vessels bound from northern India for the Archipelago to cross the Bay of Bengal on

[1] *Chi* 箕 stands for the constellation γ, δ, ε, β *Sagittarii* = Leopard. Long. 268° 28′ 15″. 'This constellation consists of the stars which are visible in the heavens only when the sun is 16° or more below the horizon. Accordingly, the first heliacal rising at dawn for lat. 20° (Canton) is on about February 8, and the last heliacal setting in the evening dusk for lat. 20° is on about December 11. The corresponding day in the lunar month to our December 11 will be about the first of the eleventh month' (Takakusu, *A record of the Buddhist religion*, p. xxxix, note 8).

[2] Takakusu, *A record of the Buddhist religion*, pp. xxxviii–xxxix.

[3] Bunyiu Nanjio, *A catalogue of the Chinese translations of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka* (Oxford, 1883), No. 1131, Book v, p. 57.

the north-east monsoon. At Kědah the traveller boarded a *Śrī Vijayan* ship which had come up the Strait of Malacca presumably during the period of light airs in early March. The following remarks are not entirely clear, but the most reasonable interpretation is that the ship took advantage of the strong winds of the north-east monsoon to make the harbour of *Mo-lo-yu* (Jambi). Here pilgrims returning to China would wait for the south-west monsoon, which sets in about the middle of May. The voyage to Canton would then take about a month.

Of the sixty monks whose biographies are included in the *Memoir*, at least thirty-seven, and possibly thirty-eight,[1] travelled the sea-route to or from India. I-Ching's simple sentences bear eloquent testimony that the actual dangers of the voyage were hardly less terrifying than the monkish imaginings of bottomless gulfs harbouring fierce oceanic monsters. Eleven of the pilgrims, in fact, died in various parts of South-East Asia, including two at *Langkasuka* and another at Kědah, while India claimed no less than thirteen. The routes taken by individual pilgrims varied in detail but it is clear that the controlling principle behind all of them was the rhythm of the monsoons. Wu-Hsing 無行, for example, sailed from China 'in the time of the east wind'[2] that is, the north-east monsoon. Arriving at *Śrī Vijaya* after a month, he took another month to reach Kědah, calling at *Mo-lo-yu* on the way. Assuming that he set out early in December, when the north-easterlies first become at all persistent, Wu-Hsing arrived in Kědah early in January, and just managed to reach Negapatam before the easterlies failed in mid-March. This, an example of a voyage completed within six months, is to be contrasted with that of I-Ching, which took eighteen months and encompassed three seasonal wind systems.

The difficulties in store for those who attempted to ignore the seasonal rhythm is evidenced by the voyage of Chih-hung 智弘.[3] Sailing from the Kuang-tung Peninsula, 'for long he was buffeted on stormy seas' until, beset with contrary winds, he put into

[1] Depending on the reader's interpretation of the life of Seng-chia-pa-mo 僧伽跋摩 (= Saṅghavarma).

[2] I-Ching, *Memoir*, f. 99 recto et verso:

東風汎舶一月到室利佛逝國 · · · 後乘王舶經十五日達末羅瑜州, 又十五日到羯茶國. 至冬末轉舶西行經三十日到那伽鉢亶那.

[3] I-Ching, *Memoir*, f. 99 recto.

Shang-ching, a port on the Gulf of Tong-king.[1] Thence he managed to make his way coastwise to the Red River delta, where he finally abandoned attempts to sail southward until the following season.

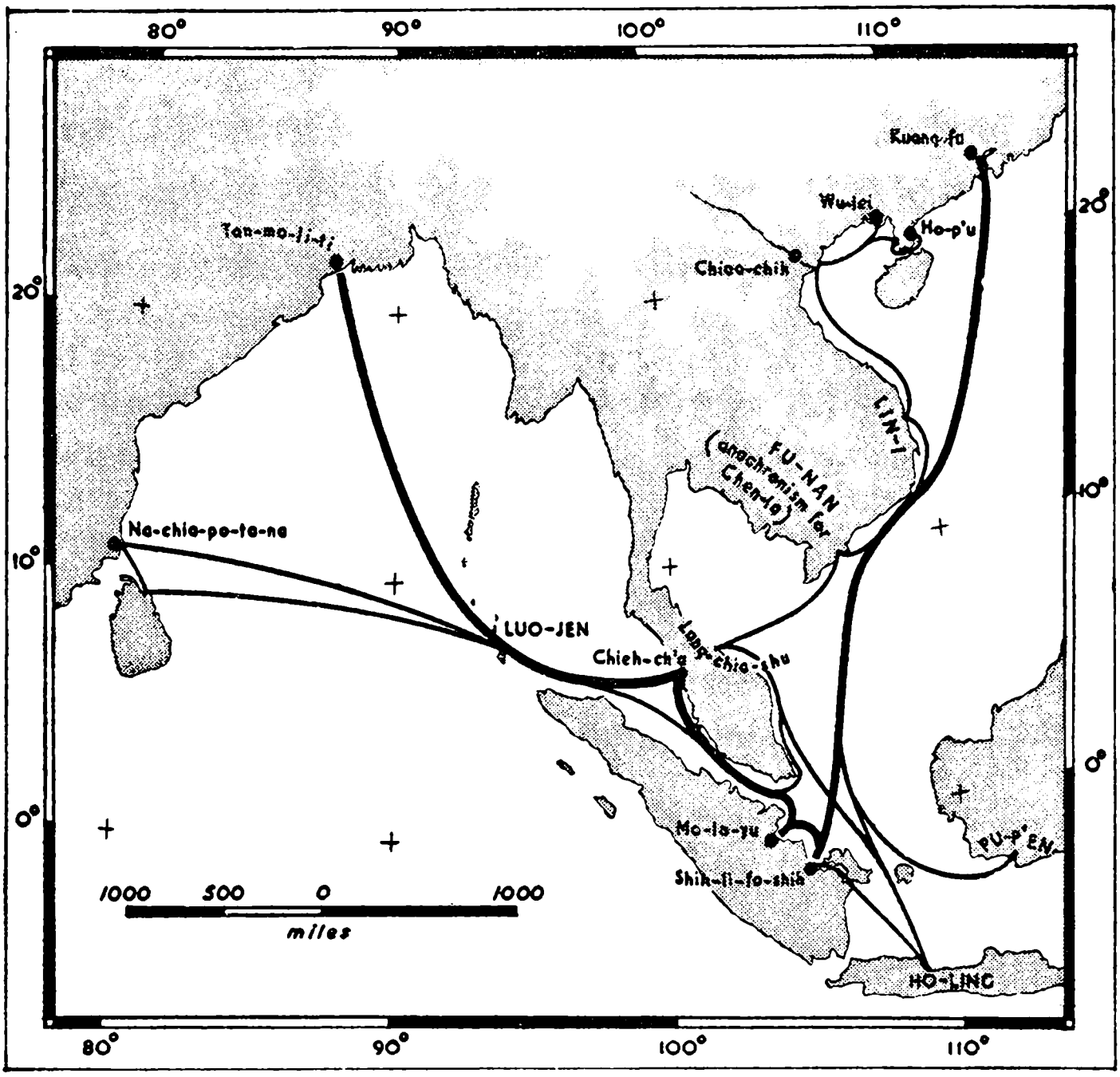

Fig. 11. Sailing routes through the South Seas in the seventh century as illustrated by I-Ching's biographies. At least one pilgrim voyaged over each route shown. I-Ching's own route is represented by a thicker line.

The ports mentioned by I-Ching on the sea-route to India are, Canton, *Wu-lei*, *Ho-p'u*, *Chiao-chih*, *Shang-ching*, *Campā*, *Fu-nan*, *Dvāravatī*, *Lang-chia-shu (Langkasuka)*, *Pu-p'en*, *Ho-ling* (Java), *Śrī Vijaya*, *Mo-lo-yu* (Jambi), *P'o-lu-shih*, Kědah, Nicobar Islands, *Tāmralipti*, Negapatam and Ceylon. The various routes over which the pilgrims sailed, so far as they can be reconstructed, are plotted on Figure 11. Such is the incidental character of I-Ching's information, it is usually impossible to plot more than part of the

[1] Chavannes, *Les religieux éminents*, p. 108.

voyage of any particular pilgrim, but every section of the routes shown on Figure 11 was traversed by at least one monk during the second half of the seventh century. Within the schedule laid down by the seasonal changes of the wind systems there was scope for some choice of route. Sailing from South China at the beginning of the north-east monsoon, the pilgrim could sail direct to some port in the Archipelago. Usually he chose *Śrī Vijaya*, where he would find more than a thousand other monks practising the orthodox Buddhist rule exactly as in India.[1] Alternatively he could follow the coastal route on which the most popular port of call was *Langkasuka*. Here, as a Chinese among 'barbarians', he was treated 'with the courtesy appropriate to distinguished guests'.[2] Minor deviations from these main routes, such as those into the Gulf of Tong-king and to *Pu-p'en* were doubtless undertaken to avoid bad weather or in the interests of casual trade.

On the second part of the journey, the pilgrims seem to have made their way by easy stages to Kědah, the point of departure for the voyage across the Bay of Bengal. Thence it was about a week's sail to the Nicobars where the route divided. One branch led to *Tāmralipti* at the mouth of the Hooghly River while the other brought the pilgrim to the southern ports of Ceylon or Negapatam.

[1] I-Ching, in Bunyiu Nanjio's *Catalogue*, No. 1131.
[2] I-Ching, *Memoir*, f. 94 verso.

CHAPTER V

'THE BARBARIANS OF THE SEA'

It is curious that neither of the two Malayan states mentioned by I-Ching, namely *Lang-chia-shu* and *Chieh-ch'a*, were considered sufficiently important to be described in the official T'ang histories. The first of these kingdoms, under the form *Lang-ya-hsü* 狼牙須, is merely mentioned incidentally in the accounts of *Ch'ih-t'u*, but it does feature as a separate item in the T'ang encyclopedia *T'ung Tien* from the late eighth century, which reproduces a notice in the *Liang-shu*. The problems associated with the location and history of this kingdom are so intricate that they merit special examination and are therefore discussed in Chapter XVI.

Chieh-ch'a 羯茶 we have seen (Chapter IV) was a point of departure for vessels leaving the Strait of Malacca for either North or South India, but I have been able to find no other reference to this port under the orthography used by I-Ching. However Ma Tuan-lin records that the state of *Chia-cha* 迦乍 sent an embassy to the imperial court in A.D. 638.[1] There is no clue to the location of this place but it is usually assumed that it is the *Chieh-ch'a* of I-Ching. The identification of this place-name came about in a curious way. As long ago as 1881 Samuel Beal, in editing Hsüan-Tsang's *Records of the Western World*, suggested that a *Chieh-ch'a* situated between Ahmadabad and Cambay might be restored as *Kheḍa*.[2] Beal himself rejected the transcription but Pelliot,[3] Braddell[4] and others, mistakenly supposing that he was referring to the Malayan Kědah, adopted his suggestion. As far as the location of the peninsular *Chieh-ch'a* is concerned this identification is undoubtedly correct, but the original form of the name of which *Chieh-ch'a* is a transliteration is a matter of dispute. Pelliot restored it as *Kaḍa*[5] but Coedès considers it corresponds rather to the Sanskrit

[1] *Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao*, chap. 331.
[2] *Buddhist records of the Western world*, p. 266, note 70.
[3] *BEFEO*, tome iv (1904), p. 351.
[4] *JMBRAS*, vol. xxiii, pt. 1 (1950), p. 20.
[5] 'Deux Itinéraires', p. 351.

Kaṭāha.[1] It would not be surprising if I-Ching recorded the name in this form for he was a Sanskrit scholar. Whatever may be the truth of this matter there can be little doubt but that *Chieh-ch'a* was in the neighbourhood of modern Kědah. Later references to this state are discussed below (Chapter XVIII).

The Malayan kingdoms which find a place in the T'ang histories seem to be those which originally formed the peninsular part of the Funanese empire but which attained some degree of autonomy—or perhaps lapsed into anarchy—on the dissolution of that empire in the middle of the sixth century. The T'ang histories also preserve quotations from a geographical memoir compiled by Chia-Tan 賈耽 between A.D. 785 and 805. This takes the form of a series of itineraries including one from China to India by way of the South Seas. The origin of this work is related in chapter 43 of the *Hsin T'ang Shu:*

> . . . in the Cheng-yüan period (A.D. 785–805) the Chief Minister, Chia-Tan, investigated the geography of the frontier and the distances of the roads in great detail. All the roads leading from the marcher districts to such of the Four Barbarians as were in communication through interpreters with the Board of Ceremonies were fully recorded . . . the seventh was the route from Kuang (Canton) to the *Barbarians of the Sea* (the countries of South-East Asia).

As quoted in the *New T'ang Annals*, the seventh itinerary is confused and ambiguous, so much so that Ferrand concluded it 'a été écourté et remanié par un compilateur peu au courant de la géographie de l'Insulinde',[2] while Luce described it as corrupt.[3] That some of the directions are mutually contradictory is true but, nevertheless, the section which deals with the Malay Peninsula and adjacent seas is not wholly incompatible with the information recorded a century or so later by Arab writers (Chapter XIV).

1. P'AN-P'AN 槃槃

Although the Chinese notices of *P'an-p'an* have not hitherto been translated in their entirety into any European language, scholars are largely agreed as to the general position of this country. I shall first present the evidence and then discuss its implications.

The earliest mention of this state is to be found in the *Fu-nan* section of the *Liang-shu*,[4] where it features as partisan to a plot which placed Kauṇḍiṇya II on the throne of *Fu-nan*.

[1] *BEFEO*, vol. vxiii (1918), p. 21.
[2] *Relations de voyages*, vol. ii, p. 644, note 1.
[3] *JBRS*, vol. xiv, pt. 2 (1925), p. 189.
[4] Chap. 54, f. 10, recto.

其後王憍陳如本天竺婆羅門也有神曰應王扶南憍陳如心帨南至盤盤扶南人聞之舉國欣戴迎而立焉復改制度用天竺法

Chiao Chen-ju (Kauṇḍiṇya), one of the successors [of Chu Chan-t'an[1] 竺旃檀], was originally an Indian brahman who received a divine fiat to reign over *Fu-nan*. Chiao Chen-ju rejoiced in his heart. He arrived at *P'an-p'an* to the southward. When the Funanese heard of him, they all welcomed him with delight, went before him and chose him as their king. Once more he modified all the laws to conform with the usage of India.

A few folios later a special section on *P'an-p'an* enumerates embassies from that country to the court of China in 424–53, 454–6, 457–64, 527, 529 and 534.[2] In addition the *Nan-shih* mentions an embassy from *P'an-p'an* (under the orthography 槃槃) in 532,[3] while the *Sui-shu* records yet another c. 616.[4] But more detailed accounts of this country are contained in the two T'ang histories. The *Chiu T'ang Shu* says:[5]

盤盤國在林邑西南海曲中北與林邑隔小海自交州舡行四十日乃至其國與狼牙修國爲隣人皆學婆羅門書甚敬佛法貞觀九年遣使來朝貢方物

The kingdom of *P'an-p'an* is situated to the south-west of *Lin-i (Campā)* on a bay of the sea. To the north it is separated from *Lin-i* by the *Small Sea*. One can reach it by boat from *Chiao-chou* (Tong-king) in forty days, and it adjoins the kingdom of *Lang-ya-hsiu*. The people all learn the brahmanical writings and greatly reverence the law of the Buddha. In the ninth year of the Chen-kuan period (635) they sent an embassy to court with an offering of local products.

The notice in the *Hsin T'ang Shu* is somewhat fuller,[6] as are those in the *T'ung Tien*,[7] the *T'ai-p'ing Yü Lan*[8] and the *T'ai-p'ing Huan Yü Chi*,[9] but the most detailed account is to be found in Ma Tuan-lin's *Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao*.[10]

槃槃國梁時通焉在南海大洲中北與林邑隔小海自交州船行四十日至其國其王曰楊栗翹父曰楊德武連以上無得而記百姓多綠水而居國無城皆豎木爲柵王坐金龍牀每坐諸大人皆兩手交抱肩百踠又其

[1] Sanskrit *Candana*, the self-styled *King of Fu-nan* who in A.D. 357 sent an embassy to the Chinese court with a tribute of elephants (*Chin-shu* 晉書 chap. 57).

[2] *Liang-shu*, chap. 54, ff. 15 verso–16 recto.

[3] Chap. 78, f. 12 verso.

[4] p. 54 below.

[5] Chap. 197, f. 2 recto.

[6] Chap. 222C, f. 2 recto et verso.

[7] Chap. 188, section 4.

[8] Chap. 787, ff. 8 verso–9 verso.

[9] Chap. 176, ff. 12 verso–13 recto.

[10] Chap. 331.

國多有婆羅門自天竺來就王乞財物王甚重之其大臣曰敎郎索濫次曰崑崙帝也次曰崑崙敎和次曰崑崙敎帝索甘且其言崑崙古龍聲相近故或有謂爲古龍者其在外城者曰那延猶中夏刺史縣令其矢以石爲鏃稍則以鐵爲刃有僧尼寺十所僧尼讀佛經皆肉食而不飮酒亦有道士寺一所道士不食酒肉讀阿脩羅王經其國不甚重之俗皆呼僧爲比邱呼道士爲貪宋元嘉孝建大明中竝遣使貢獻梁中大通元年四年其王使使奉表累送佛牙及畫塔幷獻香物十種六年復遣使送菩提國舍利及畫塔圖幷菩提樹葉詹糖等香隋大業中亦遣使朝賀

The kingdom of *P'an-p'an* entered into relations with China during the Liang dynasty (502–57).[1] It is situated in the north of a large island separated from *Lin-i (Campā)* by the Small Sea. From *Chiao-chou* it is forty days' journey by ship. The king is called Yang-li-ch'ih;[2] his father's name was Yang-te-wu-lien.[3] Beyond that nothing is known. The people live mostly by the water-side, and in default of city walls erect palisades entirely of wood. The king reclines on a gilded dragon-couch, with all his chief retainers kneeling before him, their hands crossed and resting on their shoulders. In the country are numerous brahmans come from India in search of wealth. They are in high favour with the King. His chief ministers are called respectively Po-lang-so-lan, K'un-lun-ti-yeh, K'un-lun-po-ho, K'un-lun-po-ti-so-kan.[4] In the vernacular *k'un-lun* and *ku-lung* have the same sound so that one can say either. Provincial officials are called na-yen, and correspond to the Chinese *tz'ŭ-shih* and *hsien-ling*.[5] The arrows [in use] are tipped with stone and the lances with iron. There are ten monasteries where Buddhist monks and nuns study their canon. They eat all types of meat but abstain from wine. There is also a monastery of religious devotees who partake neither of meat nor wine. They study the classic of the Asura king, but they enjoy no great respect. The Buddhist priests are commonly called *pi-ch'iu (bhikṣu)*, the others *t'an*. During the Yüan-chia (424–53), Hsiao-chien (454–6) and Ta-ming (457–64) periods of the Sung dynasty, envoys from *P'an-p'an* came regularly to offer tribute.[6] In the first and fourth years of the Ta-t'ung period of the Liang dynasty 527 and 530) the King of *P'an-p'an* sent accredited envoys to present, among other things, a tooth of the Buddha, painted stupas and ten varieties of perfume. Six years later (536) an envoy was despatched to present Buddhist relics, miniature painted stupas, leaves of the Bo tree, excellent crystallized sweetmeats and perfumes. During the period Ta-Yeh (605–17) of the Sui dynasty an envoy from *P'an-p'an* presented gifts at court.

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[1] The statement is contradicted by the *Liang-shu* which dates the first embassy from *P'an-p'an* to China somewhere between 424 and 453. See p. 48 above.

[2] Yang Su-ch'ih 楊粟翅 in *Hsin T'ang Shu*, chap. 222C, f. 2.

[3] Pelliot *(BEFEO*, tome iv, 1904, p. 229, note 5) was inclined to see in the graph 楊 a transliteration of the Cham word *yāṅ* = 'god'. See also p. 194, note 2 of the same work. It was this supposedly Cham element in the names of the kings which led Aymonier (*JA*, 1903, p. 131) to locate *P'an-p'an* on the coast of Annam. Ferrand, on the other hand, considered that *yang* might be a Malay, or even an Old Mōn, word *(JA*, 1919, p. 254, note 4). For a summary of these views see Luce, *JBRS*, vol. xiv (1925), p. 170, note 3.

[4] The *k'un-lun* element is almost certainly Old Khmer *kuruṅ* = 'king' (Pelliot, *BEFEO*, tome iv, 1904, pp. 228–30).

[5] Prefects and subprefects respectively.

[6] This is inconsistent with the earlier statement in this same passage that *P'an-p'an* first entered into relations with China during the Liang dynasty.

Finally the T'ang histories state that *P'an-p'an* is situated to the south of the kingdom of *To-ho-lo* or *Tu-ho-lo:* 墮和羅國南與盤盤,[1] 墮和羅亦曰獨和羅南距盤盤.[2]

It is clear from the passages quoted above that *P'an-p'an* was situated on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, for the 'Small Sea' separating it from *Campā* can only have been the Gulf of Siam, which is, in fact so designated in Chia-Tan's itinerary.[3] The exact location of *P'an-p'an* then turns on the identification of *To-ho-lo*, which Luce has shown to be the Mōn kingdom of *Dvāravatī* astride the lower Chao P'raya.[4] This would place *P'an-p'an* on the isthmus, with, as the *Chiu T'ang Shu* tells us, its southern territory bordering *Lang-ya-hsiu* or modern Patani (Chapter XVI). There is thus no reason to dissent from the general conclusions of Groeneveldt,[5] Pelliot,[6] Ferrand,[7] Luce,[8] Fujita Toyohachi[9] and Briggs[10] who unanimously locate *P'an-p'an* on or near the Bay of Bandon.

If the second Hinduization of *Fu-nan* at the end of the fourth century took its origin from *P'an-p'an* it seems more than likely that that kingdom had itself come under Indian influence at an early date. Luce[11] has suggested that it was founded in the third century by the great Funanese general Fan Shih-man and named in honour of (Hun) P'an-p'an, the reigning king of *Fu-nan*. In the fifth century it established relations with China, and featured prominently in dynastic histories until T'ang times. It is therefore all the more curious that I-Ching in the seventh century ignored this state, and Luce has suggested that at that period Brahmanic may have ousted Buddhist cults.[12] At other times, however, we know that Buddhism, Hinduism and minor Hindu cults all existed

[1] *Chiu T'ang Shu*, chap. 197, f. 3 recto.
[2] *Hsin T'ang Shu*, chap. 222C, f. 4 recto.
[3] *Hsin T'ang Shu*, chap. 43C.
[4] Luce, *JBRS*, vol. xiv, pt. 2 (1925), pp. 178–82. See also Coedès, *Les états hindouisés*, pp. 131–2 and Briggs, *FEQ*, vol. ix, no. 3 (1950), pp. 266–7.
[5] *MPI*, vol. i, p. 241, note †.
[6] *BEFEO*, tome iv (1904), p. 299.
[7] *JA*, onzième série, tome xii (1918) p. 141.
[8] *JBRS*, vol. xiv (1925), pp. 169–72.
[9] 中國南海古代交通叢考, pp. 1–34.
[10] *FEQ*, vol. ix (1950), pp. 261–2.
[11] *JBRS*, vol. xiv (1925), p. 169, note 1.
[12] *JBRS*, vol. xiv (1925), p. 172.

side by side. Yet despite the evident importance of Indian culture in the state, Khmer influence is manifested in the ministerial titles incorporating *k'un-lun*. The royal styles beginning with *yang* may be either Cham, as Aymonier believed, or Malay or Old Mōn as Ferrand suggested.

2. TAN-TAN 丹丹

The name of *Tan-tan* 丹丹 has also been variously interpreted, identifications ranging from India[1] to the Natuna Islands.[2] The evidence is as follows.

T'ung Tien, chapter 188, section 4.

丹丹國隋時聞焉在多羅磨國西北振州東南王姓剎利名尸陵伽理所可二萬餘家亦置州縣以相統領王每晨夕二時臨朝其大臣八人號曰八座並以婆羅門爲之王每以香粉塗身冠通天冠掛雜寶瓔珞身衣朝霞足履皮屨近則乘輿遠則馭象其攻伐則吹蠡擊鼓兼有幡旗其刑法盜賊無多少皆殺之土出金銀白檀蘇方木檳榔其穀唯稻畜有沙牛羖羊猪雞鵝鴨麞鹿鳥有越鳥孔雀果蓏有蒲桃石榴瓜瓠菱蓮菜有葱蒜薑青

The kingdom of *Tan-tan* was heard of during Sui times. It is situated north-west of *To-lo-mo (Taruma)*[3] and south-east of *Chen-chou* (Hainan). The king's family name is Sha-li, his personal name Shih-ling-chia. There are something over 20,000 families in the capital. *Chou* and *hsien*[4] have been established to facilitate administration and control. The king holds audience for two periods each day, in the morning and the evening. He has eight high officers of state, known as Pa-Tso, who are brahmans.[5] The king often daubs his person with fragrant powder. He wears a *kuan-t'ung-t'ien*,[6] hangs a variety of precious

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[1] *Vocabulary of Chinese Proper Names.*

[2] Bretschneider, *The knowledge possessed by the ancient Chinese*, p. 19, and Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, map at end.

[3] A kingdom in western Java, in the hinterland of modern Jakarta. Its earliest inscriptions date from c. A.D. 450, and it is thought to have fallen to Sumatran *Śrī Vijaya* c. 686.

[4] Chinese administrative areas.

[5] Winstedt (*The Malays: a cultural history*, pp. 68–9) has shown that pre-occupation with the astrological numbers four, eight, sixteen and thirty-two, attributes of the fabulous Mount Meru, is one of the most persistent legacies of Hinduism in the ritual of Malay courts. In Kĕdah and Pahang there are four great chiefs, eight major chiefs and sixteen minor ones, to which Perak and old Malacca at one time added thirty-two petty territorial chiefs. A comparable manifestation of this underlying stratum of Hinduism are the eight Brahmans—representing the Lokapālas guarding the eight points of the Brahman cosmos—who surround the kings of Siam and Cambodia during their respective enthronement ceremonies. Note also that ninth-century *Ho-ling* 訶陵 (Java) was also ruled by thirty-two high officials (*Hsin T'ang Shu*, chap. 222B).

[6] A type of headgear with exaggerated corners. For a description see 漢六朝の服飾, Plates 17 and 31).

ornaments about his neck, clothes himself in *chao-hsia*,[1] and wears leather sandals on his feet. When he travels a short distance he is carried in a litter, on longer journeys he rides on an elephant. In battle conch-shells and drums are sounded while banners and flags [are waved]. Under the criminal code all robbers and thieves, irrespective of the seriousness of their crimes, suffer execution. The products of the country are gold, silver, white sandalwood, sapan-wood, and betel-nut. The only grain is padi. The domestic creatures include deer,[2] goats, pigs, fowls, geese, ducks, musk- and other deer. The birds include the hornbill and the peacock. Tree fruits and small fruits include grapes, peaches, pomegranates, melons, gourds, water chestnuts and lotus seeds. Vegetables include onions, garlic and rape-turnips.

The same account is copied verbatim into the *T'ai-p'ing Huan Yü Chi*[3] and in very similar form into the *T'ung Chih*[4] and *Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao*.[5] In the *T'ung Chih*, *To-lo-mo* 多羅磨 appears as *Lo-mo-lo* 羅磨羅, in the other work as *To-lo-mo-lo* 多羅磨羅. These later forms of the name are evidently errors which have become incorporated in the text through repeated copying. There is, too, a very similar account of *Tan-tan*, under the orthography 單單, in the *Hsin T'ang Shu*[6] but the variations in detail are sufficiently numerous to justify the reproduction of the passage as a whole.

單單在振州東南多羅磨之西亦有州縣木多白檀王姓剎利名尸陵伽日視事有八大臣號八坐王以香塗身冠雜寶瓔近行乘東遠乘象戰必吹螽擊鼓盜無輕重皆死乾封總章時獻方物

Tan-tan is situated to the south-east of *Chen-chou* and west of *To-lo-mo*. It is divided into *chou* and *hsien*. There is an abundance of white sandalwood. The king's family name is Sha-li, his personal name Shih-ling-chia. For day-to-day business there are eight high officers of state, designated Pa-Tso. The king smears himself with perfume. His crown is studded with valuable gems of various kinds. For short distances he travels in a carriage, for longer journeys on an elephant. In war conch-shells are sounded and drums beaten. Robbery or petty theft is alike punished by death. During the time of Ch'ien-Feng (A.D. 666–7) and Tsung-Chang (A.D. 668–9) this kingdom offered up local products as tribute.

There are also a few other references to this state. The *Liang Shu*,[7] for example, relates that in A.D. 530 an envoy from *Tan-tan*

[1] A term applied under the Sui and T'ang to a certain cloth, presumably on account of its colour (Pelliot, *BEFEO*, vol. iv, 1904, p. 390, note 4 and Luce, *JBRS*, vol. xiv, 1925, p. 164, note 1).

[2] There are only two kinds of true deer on the Peninsula, the sambar or rusa *(Cervus unicolor)* and the muntjac or kijang *(Cervulus muntjac)*. The mouse deer *(Tragulus ravus* and *T. napu)* is not a true deer but may well have been described as such by the Chinese.

[3] Chap. 177, f. 7 recto.

[4] Vol. 198.

[5] Vol. 332.

[6] Chap. 222C, f. 5 verso.

[7] Chap. 54, f. 16 recto et verso. This notice is repeated in the *Nan-shih*, chap. 78, f. 12 verso.

presented to the Chinese court a memorial which, as well as being couched in fervent Buddhist terms, was accompanied by appropriate presents, namely two ivory images, two stupas, fire pearls, cotton fabrics, various perfumes and drugs 牙像及塔各二 . . .

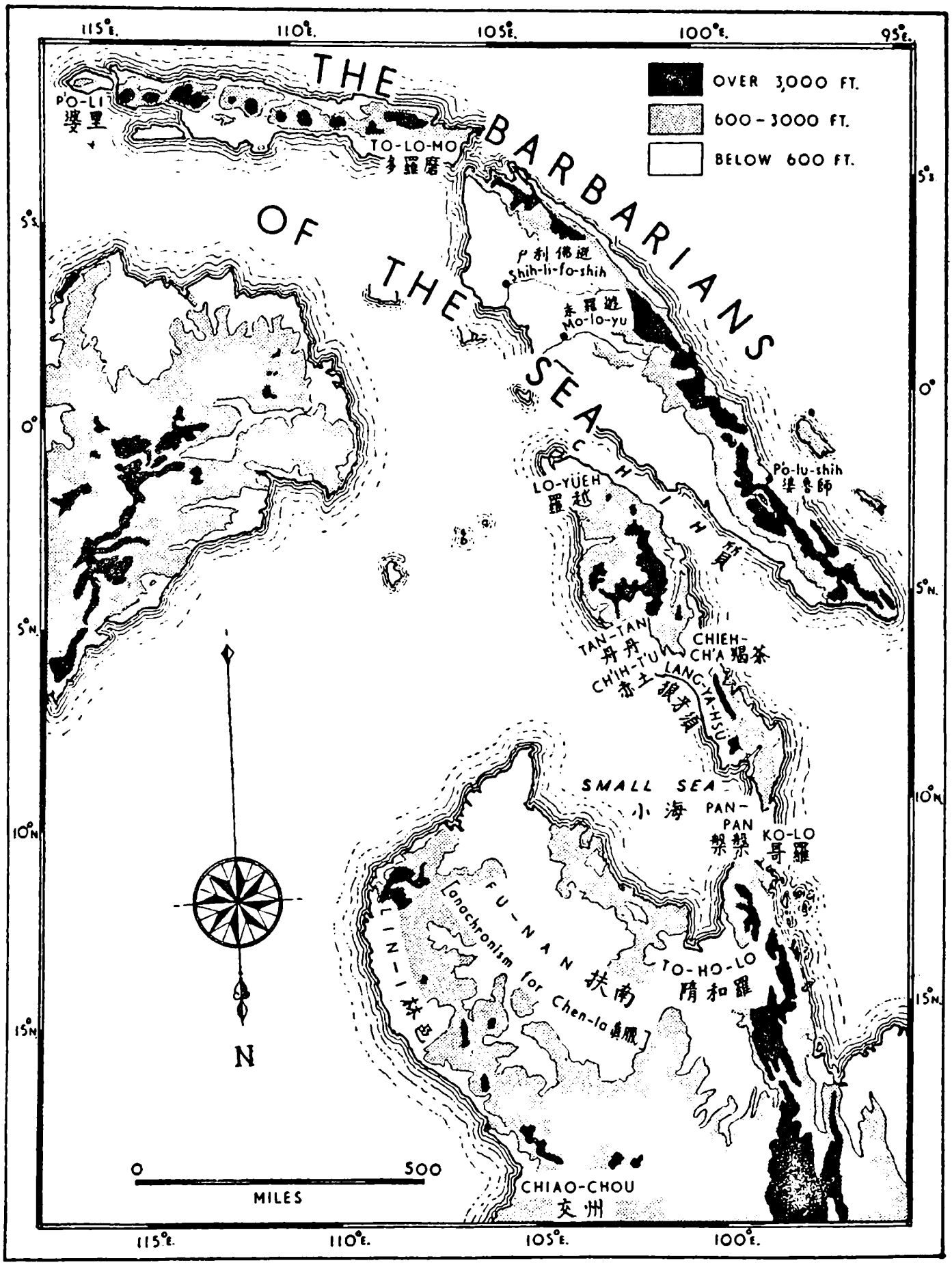

Fig. 12. 'The Barbarians of the Sea'. Other place-names mentioned in T'ang texts but so far unidentified have necessarily been omitted from the map.

火齊珠古貝雜香藥.[1] In A.D. 535 a second embassy brought a rather wider selection of presents: gold, silver, porcelain, various jewels, perfumes, drugs and other gifts 金銀瑠璃雜寶香藥等物, while the arrival of a third tribute-bearing mission in about the year 616 is recorded in the *Sui-shu*.[2]

南荒有丹丹盤盤二國亦來貢方物其風俗物產大抵相類云

Two states, *Tan-tan* and *P'an-p'an*, from the southern regions came to offer the produce of their countries as tribute. Their customs and products are generally speaking similar.

This, together with a brief, but significant, notice that *Tan-tan* and *Ch'ih-t'u* are on the sailing route to *P'o-li*[3] completes the definite information remaining to us about *Tan-tan*. There is, however, one further passage which some scholars have considered to refer to this country, and that is to be found in I-Ching's *Nan-hai Chi-kuei Nei-fa Chuan*.[4]

圍從西數之, 有婆魯師洲末羅遊洲卽今尸利佛逝國是, 莫訶信洲, 訶陵洲, 呾呾洲, 盆盆洲, 婆里洲, 掘倫洲.

Gloss. Counting from the west, there is *P'o-lu-shih* Island,[5] *Mo-lo-yu* Island,[6] which is now the kingdom of *Shih-li-fo-shih (Śri Vijaya)*, *Mo-ho-hsin* Island,[7] *Ho-ling* Island,[8] *Tan-tan* Island, *P'en-p'en* Island,[9] *P'o-li* Island,[10] *Chüeh-lun* Island.[11]

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[1] *Liang-shu*, chap. 54.

[2] Chap. 82, f. 8 recto. Repeated in the *Pei-shih*, chap. 95, f. 15 recto. The record of these embassies confounds the claim of the *T'ung-tien* that *Tan-tan* first became known to the Chinese in Sui times. Cp. p. 51 above.

[3] *Sui-shu*, chap. 82, f. 7 verso. Repeated in the *Pei-shih*, chap. 95, f. 16 recto.

[4] Chap. 1, f. 68 recto.

[5] Barus in North-West Sumatra. *Vide*, for example, Ferrand, *JA*, tome xiii (1919), p. 298 and Luce *JBRS*, vol. xiv (1925), p. 203, note 2.

[6] *Malāyu*, that is, Jambi.

[7] Pelliot (*BEFEO*, tome iv, 1904, p. 325, note 2) identifies this name with the *Mo-ho-hsin* 摩訶新 which the *T'ai-p'ing Huan Yü Chi* lists as one of the places on the route from Canton to *Chin-li-p'i-shih* (p. 31 above). For a number of unsubstantiated identifications of this name see Takakusu, *A record of the Buddhist religion*, p. xlvii; Schlegel, *TP*, 2e série, vol. ii, pp. 115–6; and Ferrand, *JA*, tome xiii (1919), pp. 298–9.

[8] Java.

[9] Takakusu (*A record of the Buddhist religion*, p. xlix) suggests Pĕmbuan in southern Borneo, Ferrand (*JA*, tome xiii, 1919, pp. 300–1) Madura. The name is reminiscent of the *P'an-p'an* discussed above.

[10] Probably Bali.

[11] This name is usually equated with the *Gurun* of the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*, a suggestion which originated with Ferrand (*JA*, tome xiii, 1919, pp. 301–2), but its location is far from certain.

The text goes on to remark that these countriés all espouse the Buddhist faith, and, except for *Mo-lo-yu*, where there are a few Mahāyānists, the Hīnayāna branch of Buddhism.

The passages quoted above make it evident that *Tan-tan* was in the South Seas, but prescribe no definite location. Neither does it help us to any extent to know that *Tan-tan* was north-west of *Taruma*, although this was true enough. The most informative scrap of evidence is *Tan-tan's* association with *Ch'ih-t'u* as a country on the sea-route to the south. *Ch'ih-t'u*, we have seen, was in North-East Malaya, probably in the basin of the Kělantan River. *Tan-tan*, just beyond, would then be on one of the *kualas* farther south, possibly the Bĕsut or the Trĕngganu. Greater precision is unattainable on the basis of the evidence available.

3. KO-LO 哥羅, LO-YÜEH 羅越 AND KO-KU-LO 哥谷羅

These three place-names are best considered together for the evidence as to their positions is to be found in a sequence of closely related notices. *Ko-lo* is the most fully documented of these states, but even here the implications are by no means explicit. The following passage occurs in the *Hsin T'ang Shu*, chapter 222C, folio 2 verso.

其東南有哥羅一曰箇羅亦曰哥羅富沙羅王姓矢利波羅名米失鉢羅累石爲城樓闕宮室茨以草州二十四其兵有弓矢矟殳以孔雀羽飾纛每戰以百象爲一隊一象百人鞍若檻四人執弓矟在中賦率輸銀二銖無絲紵惟古貝畜多牛少馬非有官不束髮凡嫁娶納檳榔爲禮多至二百盤婦已嫁從夫姓樂有琵琶橫笛銅鈸鐵鼓蠶死者焚之取燼貯金罌沈之海東南有拘薬蜜海行一月至南距婆利行十日至東距不述行五日至西北距文單行六日至與赤土墮和羅同俗

To the south-east [of *P'an-p'an*] is *Ko-lo* 哥羅 or 箇羅, also called *Ko-lo-fu-sha-lo*. The king's family name is Shih-li-po-lo, his personal name is Mi-shih-po-lo.[1] The city walls are of piled stone; the towers, the palace, and the houses are thatched with straw. There are twenty-four *chou*.[2] The soldiers use bows and arrows, lances and spears. They decorate their banners with peacock feathers. In war a hundred elephants constitute a company, with a hundred men to each

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[1] Combined these names can be transliterated as Śrī Parameśvara. See Pelliot, *BEFEO*, tome iv (1904), pp. 349–50.

[2] An administrative unit, probably best translated here as 'prefecture'. The *T'ung Tien*, which also includes this passage, adds, 'but there are no sub-prefectures' 而無縣 (chap. 188, section 4). For the significance of the number 24 see p. 51 note 5 above.

elephant. The [elephant-] saddle is like a cage, with four men inside, grasping bows and lances. Tax is levied at the rate of two silver *shu*.[1] There is no silk or hemp, but only cotton. Many cattle and a few horses are reared. Only officials are allowed to bind their hair. When a man [of *Ko-lo*] takes a wife he makes a present of areca nuts, sometimes of as many as two hundred dishes. After marriage the wife follows the husband's clan. Musical instruments include the *p'i-p'a*[2] and the *heng-ti*,[3] brass cymbals, an iron drum and the calabash. The dead are burnt, their ashes collected, preserved in a golden urn and sunk in the sea. To the south-east [of *Ko-lo*] is *Chü-lü-mi*,[4] which is reached in one month by sea. In the south [*Chü-lü-mi*][5] is distant ten days' journey from *P'o-li* (probably Bali), in the east five days' journey from *Pu-shu* (unidentified). To the north-west it is distant six days' journey from *Wen-tan*.[6] Its customs are the same as those of *Ch'ih-t'u* and *To-ho-lo (Dvāravati)*.

Parallel passages in the *T'ung Tien*,[7] the *Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao*[8] and the *T'ai-p'ing Huan Yü Chi*[9] add that *Ko-lo* first became known during Han times: 哥羅國漢時聞焉.

Chia-Tan's itinerary, preserved in abridged form in the same history, also makes mention of *Ko-lo*.[10]

又五日行至海硤蕃人謂之質南北百里北岸則羅越國南岸則佛逝國佛逝國東水行四五日行至訶陵國南中洲之最大者又西出硤三日至葛葛僧祇國在佛逝西北隅之別島國人多鈔暴乘舶者畏憚之其北岸則箇羅國箇羅西則哥谷羅國

After five days journey [from *Chün-t'u-lung* Mountain] one reaches a strait which the barbarians call *Chih*, and which is 100 *li* from south to north. On its northern shore is the kingdom of *Lo-yüeh*, on its southern shore the kingdom of *Fo-shih*.[11] Some four or five days' journey over the water to the eastward of *Fo-shih* is the kingdom of *Ho-ling* (Java), the largest of the islands in the south. Then, emerging

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[1] An ancient silver coin.

[2] An instrument known as the balloon-guitar.

[3] The flute.

[4] Unidentified. Ferrand's tentative equation with part of Banka cannot be sustained—*JA*, onzième série, tome xiv (1919), p. 238. According to the *T'ang-hui-yao* (chap. 100), *Chü-lü-mi* was three months' journey by land west of *Lin-i (Campā)*, one month's journey by sea south-east of *P'an-p'an* and *Chih-wu*, ten days north of *P'o-li*, five days west of *Pu-shu* and six days south-east of *Wen-tan*. So far no scholar has been able to reconcile these orientations one with another.

[5] In this passage the following remarks may well relate to *Ko-lo*, but the parallel notice in the *T'ang-hui-yao* (chap. 100) makes it fairly certain that *Chü-lü-mi* is intended.

[6] Land Chen-la, one of the two divisions of that country recognized by Chinese historians. See *Chiu T'ang Shu*, chap. 197, f. 2 verso and *Hsin T'ang Shu*, chap. 222C, f. 3 recto.

[7] Chap. 188, section 4.

[8] Chap. 331.

[9] Chap. 176, f. 2 verso.

[10] *Hsin T'ang Shu*, chap. 43C, f. 18 verso.

[11] Specifically Palembang; possibly here used for the whole island of Sumatra.

from the strait, in three days one reaches the kingdom of *Ko-ko-seng-chih*,[1] which is situated on another island off the north-west corner of *Fo-shih*. The inhabitants are mostly pirates. Voyagers on junks go in dread of them. On the northern shore of the strait is the kingdom of *Ko-lo*. To the west of *Ko-lo* is the kingdom of *Ko-ku-lo*.

Now, it is a strange coincidence, first noticed by Ferrand,[2] that a simple transposition of the third and fourth characters of *Ko-lo-fu-sha-lo* (the extended form of *Ko-lo*) produces an exact transcription of *Kalaśapūra*, the name of a city which the *Kathāsaritsāgara* locates in *Suvarṇadvīpa* or Malaysia.[3] But *Kalaśapūra* seems to occur in the Chinese records under other transcriptions. The *Chiu T'ang Shu*, for example, places *Chia-lo-she-fo* to the north of *Dvāravatī:* 墮和羅 . . . 北與迦羅舍佛;[4] the *Hsin T'ang Shu* repeats this sentence with 弗 instead of 佛,[5] and adds that the tribal chieftains of *Ko-lo-she-fen*, situated to the west of *Dvāravatī*, lived in stockades (哥羅舍分者在海南東墮和羅 . . . 有君長皆柵).[6] Finally, the *Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao* devotes a paragraph to this same kingdom:[7]

哥羅舍分國在南海之南按隋和羅國勝兵二萬人其王蒲越伽摩唐顯慶五年遣使朝貢

The kingdom of *Ko-lo-she-fen* is situated in the southern part of the South Seas. It adjoins the kingdom of *To-ho-lo*. [*Ko-lo-she-fen*] can put 20,000 soldiers in the field. In the fifth year of the Hsien-ch'ing period of the T'ang (662), King P'u-yüeh-ch'ieh-mo sent envoys to offer tribute.[8]

Although these three forms of the name are all fairly accurate transcriptions of *Kalaśapūra*, it is by no means certain that they refer to the same place, for whereas *Ko-lo-she-fen* was west of *Dvāravatī*, *Chia-lo-she-fo* was to the north. Moreover, the *Kalaśapūra* of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* was a seaport, which is incompatible with a position north of *Dvāravatī*. Pelliot escapes from the impasse

[1] Pelliot (*BEFEO*, tome iv, 1904, p. 349) suggests one of the Brouwers Islands. It is not impossible, despite the use of the word 島, that *Ko-ko-seng-chih* was part of the north-east Sumatran mainland. In any case, the precise location of this kingdom would throw but little light on the position of *Ko-lo*.

[2] *JA*, onzième série, tome xiv (1919) pp. 236–8.

[3] See p. 182 below.

[4] Chap. 197, f. 3, recto.

[5] Chap. 222C, f. 4, recto. This name would seem to have appeared in yet another form in the *Sui-shu*, chap, 3, and the *Pei-shih*, chap. 12, which tell us that *Chia-lo-she* 迦邏舍 sent an embassy to the Chinese court in A.D. 608.

[6] Chap. 222C, ff. 4 verso and 5 recto.

[7] Chap. 332: frontiers, section 9.

[8] Repeated in the *Hsin T'ang Shu*, chap. 222C, f. 4 verso and the *Ts'e-fu Yüan-kuei*, chap. 970.

by amending the 'north' of the *Hsin T'ang Shu* to read 'west',[1] thus bringing the position of *Chia-lo-she-fo* into conformity with that of *Ko-lo-she-fen;* while Ferrand chooses the alternative course of postulating two places with the name of *Ko-lo*, one in the neighbourhood of Patani, the other in the region of the Shan states.[2] To this hypothesis Luce justly applies Occam's razor. In fact, some thirty years after Luce was writing, there is still little to add to his appraisal of the evidence. 'It seems on the whole more probable', he says, 'that the Chinese accounts, drawn from miscellaneous sources and apparently inconsistent, contain mistakes, than that there should be two Ko-lo's and two (or three) Kalaçapura's in this neighbourhood'.[3]

The significant information which can be culled from these inadequate and conflicting accounts is as follows: *Ko-lo (=Ko-lo-fu-sha-lo)* was west of *Dvāravatī* and on the northern shore of a strait called *Chih* in the vernacular. This, forming the northern boundary of the *Śrī Vijayan* kingdom, can only have been the Malacca or Singapore Straits or, possibly, both.

Lo-yüeh, on the northern shore of these straits, clearly denotes a southerly part of the Malay Peninsula. There is one further reference to this kingdom in the *Hsin T'ang Shu*:[4]

羅越者北距海五千里西南哥谷羅商賈往來所湊集俗與墮羅鉢底同歲乘舶至廣州州必以聞

Lo-yüeh is 5,000 *li* northwards from the sea. To the south-west is *Ko-ku-lo*. Traders passing back and forth meet there [at *Lo-yüeh*]. The customs are the same as those of *To-lo-po-ti (Dvāravati)*. Every year merchants embark on junks and come to *Kuang-chou* (Canton), whence the news of their arrival must be passed on.

It is obvious that no state in the South Seas could have been 5,000 *li* from the sea. The 'thousand' 千 must be a textual error, most probably, as Pelliot suggests,[5] an erratum for 'ten' 十, which places *Lo-yüeh* only some 50 *li* inland. One location immediately suggests itself, namely, the Johore River, where Ptolemaic evidence of indeterminate date also points to an early settlement (page 157 below). However, if such a settlement did exist the only material

[1] *BEFEO*, tome iv (1940), pp. 360–1, note 1.
[2] *JA*, tome xiv (1919), pp. 233–8.
[3] *JBRS*, vol. xiv (1925), pp. 188–9.
[4] Chap. 222C, f. 5 verso.
[5] *BEFEO*, vol. iv (1904), p. 232.

remains which have come to light are 600 or so beads from Kota Tinggi and Johore Lama.[1]

It is apparent from the notices discussed above that *Ko-lo* was no insignificant state. Its capital was an atap town, it is true, but its territory comprised twenty-four prefectures and boasted an army of 20,000 soldiers, together with squadrons of elephants.

The precise position of this city-state has occasioned much discussion, but most recent authors seem disposed to equate this place-name with the *Kalāh* of the Arab topographers,[2] a contention gaining greatly from further study of the Arab sources. It is surely more than coincidence that the Chinese form *Ko-ku-lo* for a state to the west of *Ko-lo* should find an analogue in *Qāqullah* situated beyond *Kalāh* on the sea-route from China to India (pages 216–228). *Kalāh*, we shall see (Chapter XIV), can be located with a fair degree of certainty in the neighbourhood of Mergui so that if, as Luce maintains, *Dvāravatī* of the seventh century extended as far southwards as the isthmus,[3] Chinese voyagers were not unreasonable in regarding *Ko-lo* as west of that country. The claim of the T'ang history to place *Ko-lo* south-east of *P'an-p'an* has not been satisfactorily explained. Luce could only dismiss it as a textual error[4] and I have no better suggestion to offer.

The contradictory locations of *Ko-ku-lo* west of Mergui but south-west of Johore imply more confusion in the Chinese texts. A site south-west of Johore can only be in Sumatra, but the *Hsin T'ang Shu* clearly implies that *Ko-ku-lo* is on the northern shore of the Strait of Malacca. West of Kědah is the sea, but it is possible to argue for a position on the Butang or Langkawi Islands, or even on Penang Island. It is much more probable, however, that, as commonly happens in early Chinese records, the word for 'west' in the T'ang history implies not a precise compass direction, but simply a position on a more westerly meridian. *Ko-ku-lo* would then be situated on the mainland of the Peninsula, somewhere north-west of Mergui.

Ko-ku-lo is occasionally mentioned elsewhere. The *Sung-shih*, for example, tells of a Chinese monk who in A.D. 983 was given

[1] Gardner, *JRAS*, (1937), pp. 467–70.

[2] This point of view is ably argued by Braddell, *JMBRAS*, vol. xxiii, p. 1 (1950), pp. 26–7 and Briggs, *FEQ*, vol. ix (1950), pp. 270–3.

[3] *JBRS*, vol. xiv (1925), p. 189.

[4] *JBRS*, vol. xiv (1925), p. 189.

imperial letters of introduction to the rulers of *San-fo-ch'i*, *Ko-ku-lo* 葛古羅 and *Ko-lan*.[1] *San-fo-ch'i* was *Śrī Vijaya* (Palembang), *Ko-lan* was Quilon on the coast of Travancore, and it looks very much as if *Ko-ku-lo* was an intermediate stage, perhaps, as Sylvain Lévi suggests, the point of departure for ships setting out to cross the Indian Ocean.[2]

There is also a brief reference in the *Yu-yang Tsa-tsu* 酉陽雜俎[3] to an unidentified country called *Ch'ieh-ku-lo* 伽古羅, the source of white cardamom. The implications of this are discussed on page 271 below.

T'ang official information about the Malay Peninsula is much less detailed than the number of travellers to this part of the world might have led us to expect, but from the glimpses afforded us we may conclude that the situation was not essentially different from that obtaining in the third century A.D. Some seven city-states had emerged from the ruins of the Funanese peninsular empire and an eighth settlement had arisen probably somewhere in Johore. Thus economic and political activity was still virtually restricted to the isthmus. The rest of the peninsula was an unproductive blank on the Chinese map with the exception of *Lo-yüeh* at the southern extremity of the peninsula. This state is known only by name but can have been little more than a collecting centre for forest products. There is no evidence that it was a regular port of call on the route to India, though doubtless it occasionally benefited from casual trade with vessels awaiting the change of the monsoon. Despite its monopoly of shipping across the Bay of Bengal, *Chieh-ch'a* was not considered worthy of mention in the official T'ang histories and is known to us only from the accounts of pilgrims who sailed thence to India.

[1] Chap. 490, f. 2 recto.

[2] Lévi, *EA*, vol. ii (1925), p. 11.

[3] Compiled c. A.D. 850 but incorporating information from the *Pen-ts'ao Shih-i* 本草拾遺 of A.D. 713–41.

CHAPTER VI

THE UPPER COAST

CHINESE maritime trade with the South Seas and the Indian Ocean, which had been developing steadily since the days of the Former Han, and which had attained considerable importance under the T'ang, reached its apogee under the Southern Sung dynasty. Confined after 1127 to the southern territories of their former empire, and thus cut off from the Central Asian trade-routes, the Chinese turned towards the southern seas; in Professor Duyvendak's phrase they became sea-minded,[1] and began to venture on to the ocean in their own ships. In the twelfth century Chinese junks reached even as far as Quilon on the coast of Malabar.[2] In 971 the maritime customs service at Canton was re-organized to meet the requirements of this increase in trade, which by the end of the tenth century had become so valuable that it was declared a state monopoly.[3] In one of the years preceding 998, a General Customs Collectorate was inaugurated at Hangchou and in 999, 'at the request, and for the convenience, of foreign officials', inspectorates of customs were established at Hangchou, Ningpo and Ch'üan-chou.[4] With the object of further stimulating this trade with the South Seas, a mission was dispatched with credentials under the imperial seal to induce 'the foreign traders of the South Seas and those who went to foreign lands beyond the sea to trade' to come to south Chinese ports on promise of special import licences. Some idea of the rapidity with which this trade developed may be gleaned from the following figures. Between 1049 and 1053 the annual import into China of elephants' tusks, rhinoceros horns, strings of pearls, aromatics, incense and suchlike was somewhat more than 53,000 units of count. By 1175 it had exceeded 500,000 units. Unfortunately we do not know how much was a unit which, in any case, varied from article to article, but the statistics speak for themselves. The Chinese paid for these luxury

[1] *China's discovery of Africa*, p. 15.
[2] Chau Ju-kua, pp. 10–11.
[3] *Sung-shih*, chap. 186.
[4] *Sung-shih*, chap. 186.

goods mainly with gold, silver, textiles, porcelain and, above all, copper cash, the drain of which last caused great concern to the Government. Yet 'when the management was proper, the income was sometimes counted by millions [of strings of cash]'.

These trade relations with the South Seas and the Indian Ocean brought in their train a much more detailed knowledge of the countries of South-East Asia than had hitherto been available to the Chinese, and it might be expected that a considerable proportion of this new information would have been recorded in the learned and elegant prose which characterized the Sung dynasty, the more especially as printing had made rapid advances under the Five Dynasties (A.D. 907–60). That such a development did not take place must be ascribed largely to the prevailing social ethic. However great the profits and advantages to be derived from the overseas trade in luxury goods—and such articles comprised by far the larger part of the transaction—ideologically trade was an inferior, if not sordid, activity. As Hirth and Rockhill put it, ' . . . the knowledge of foreign countries was an obscure, unprofitable hobby, taken up by only a few officials whose special duties disposed them to make these researches, and which in no way appealed to the public fancy'.[1] In fact Confucian philosophers went so far as to cast discredit on what was known of the geography of foreign countries, while the celebrated essayist, Ch'eng Ta-ch'ang, squandered his undoubted talents in the profitless task of trying to prove the untrustworthiness of all geographical information about foreign lands. In view of this intellectual environment it is less surprising that, apart from the official Sung history, only two works have preserved descriptions of the Malay Peninsula. The first of these, the *Ling-wai Tai-ta* 嶺外代答, was written by Chou Ch'ü-fei 周去非 in 1178 when he was Assistant Sub-Prefect in Kuei-lin, the capital of the maritime province of Kuang-hsi. The second, the *Chu-fan-chih* 諸蕃志, was compiled in 1226 by Chao Ju-kua 趙汝适, the Commissioner of Foreign Trade at Ch'üan-chou. Thus both authors were afforded exceptional opportunities of obtaining information about the countries of the South Seas. Chao Ju-kua, in particular, had unrivalled facilities for discussions with the Chinese and foreign sailors who frequented Ch'üan-chou, and his descriptions of no less than twenty-eight countries, including three

[1] *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 38.

on the Malay Peninsula, seem to be based wholly on such oral information. The rest of his book consists of borrowings from the *Ling-wai Tai-ta*, the *Yu-yang Tsa-tsu*, and to a lesser extent from dynastic histories, *T'ung Tien* and works of a similar character.

Chou Ch'ü-fei gives us some idea of the notions of the geography of South-East Asia entertained by cultivated officials in South China in the twelfth century.[1] 'The great Encircling Ocean bounds the barbarian countries', he begins. 'In every quarter they have their kingdoms, each with its peculiar products, each with its emporium (都會) on which the prosperity of the state depends. The kingdoms situated directly to the south [of China] have *San-fo-ch'i (Śrī Vijaya)* as their emporium; those to the south-east have *She-p'o* (Java). . . . To the south of *San-fo-ch'i* is the great Southern Ocean, in which are islands inhabited by a myriad and more of peoples. Beyond these one can go no further south. . . . To the east of *She-p'o* is the great Eastern Ocean where the water begins to go downward . . . it is impossible to enumerate the countries of the South-Western Ocean, but . . . we have to the south [of *Chiao-chih* = Tong-king] *Chan-ch'eng* (Annam), *Chen-la* (Cambodia) and *Fo-lo-an*'.[2] In another place Chou Ch'ü-fei adds: 'Of all the wealthy foreign lands which have great store of precious and varied goods, none surpasses the realm of *Ta-shih* (Arabs). Next to them comes *She-p'o*, while *San-fo-ch'i* is third; many others come in the next rank. *San-fo-ch'i* is an important thoroughfare (衝) on the sea-routes of the foreigners on their way to and from [China] . . .';[3] to which Chao Ju-kua adds: ' . . . because the country is an important thoroughfare for the traffic of foreign nations, the produce of all other countries is intercepted and kept in store there for the trade of foreign ships' (chapter 2, page 29). Chou Ch'ü-fei then goes on to explain that the countries of peninsular South-East Asia were known collectively as the Upper Coast, while the Archipelago was designated the Lower Coast.[4] It follows from Chou Ch'ü-fei's remarks that, as trade between the countries bordering the Indian Ocean and China was funnelled through the Strait of Malacca, at least the west coast of the Malay

[1] *Ling-wai Tai-ta*, chap. 2, f. 4 verso.

[2] See pp. 68–70 below.

[3] *Ling-wai Tai-ta*, chap. 3, f. 5 recto. Translation based in part on that of Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, pp. 25–6. See also *Chu-fan-chih*, pt. 2, p. 31.

[4] *Ling-wai Tai-ta*, chap. 2, f. 6 recto.

Peninsula must have been a familiar sight to sailors of the period. But the composite geography of the Peninsula which can be constructed from the *Ling-wai Tai-ta* and the *Chu-fan-chih* leaves much to be desired. The information on the various states is set out and discussed below.

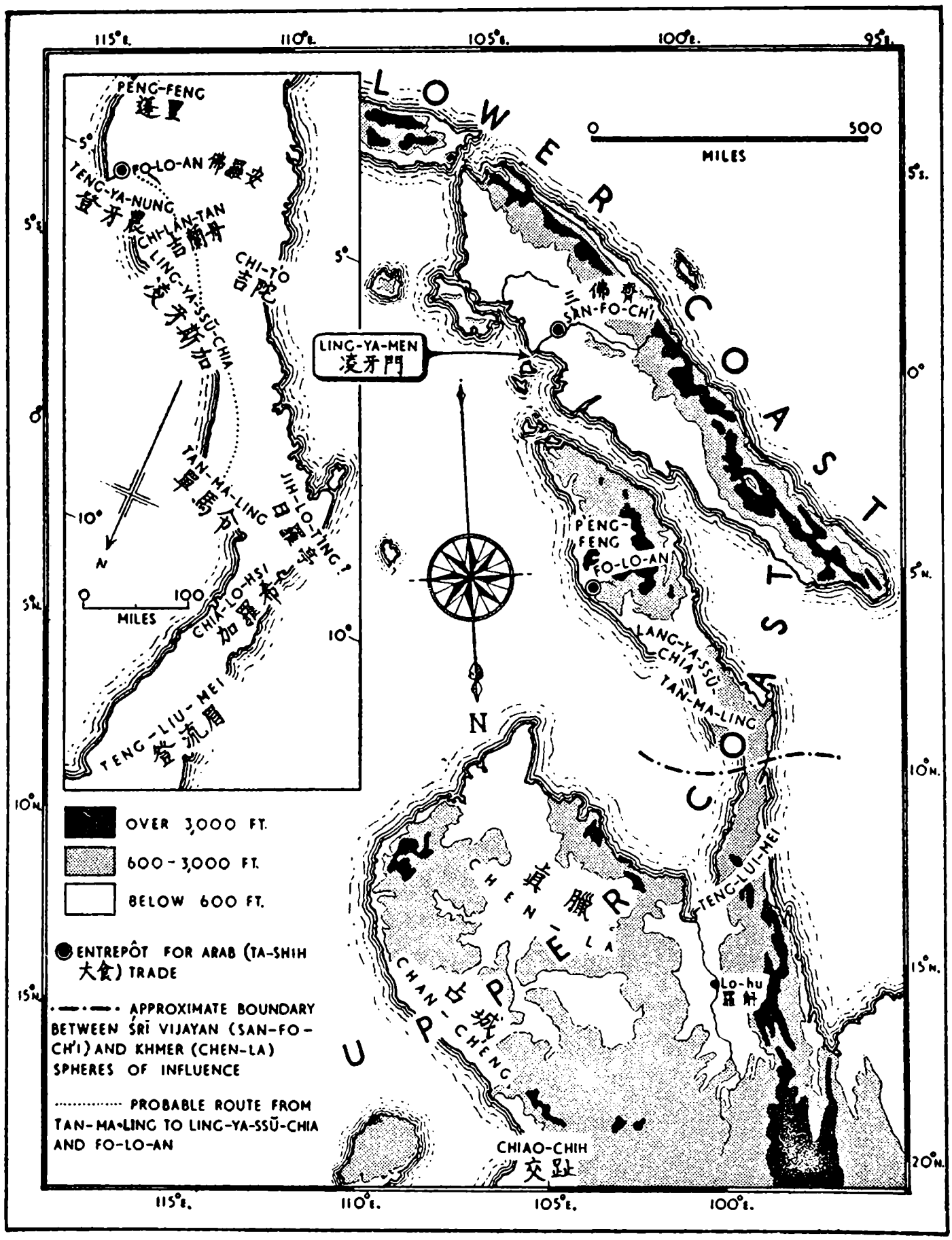

Fig. 13. The Upper and Lower Coasts as described by Chao Ju-kua in A.D. 1225. Inset: the place-names mentioned in the isthmian region.

1. TENG-LIU-MEI 登流眉

登流眉國. 在眞臘之西. 地主椎髻簪花. 肩紅蔽白. 朝日登塲. 初無殿宇, 飲食以葵葉爲椀. 不施匕箸. 掬而食之. 有山曰無弄. 釋迦湿槃示化. 銅象在焉. 產白荳蔻箋, 沉速香, 黃蠟, 紫礦, 之屬.

The[1] country of *Teng-liu-méi* is to the west of *Chen-la* (Cambodia). Its ruler wears flowers in his hair, which is gathered into a knot. Over his shoulders he wears a red [garment] covered with white. On audience days he ascends an open dais, for [the country] is wholly without palace buildings of any kind. Palm leaves are used as dishes in eating and drinking; neither spoons nor chopsticks are used in eating, which is done with the fingers. There is a mountain called *Wu-nung* [where] the Shih-Chia (Śākyamuni) entered into Nirvāṇa, an event commemorated by a bronze elephant.[2] The products [of *Teng-liu-mei*] are cardamoms, *chien*, *ch'en* and *su* [=varieties of gharuwood],[3] bee's wax and lac.

Teng-liu-mei is also listed as a dependency of *Chen-la*.[4]

This state is first mentioned under this orthography in the *Ling-wai Tai-ta*,[5] which includes a note—lacking in the *Chu-fan-chih*—that *Teng-liu-mei* produced the most aromatic gharuwood in the world.[6] The *Sung-shih*,[7] while adding that *Teng-liu-mei* was situated to the south-west of *Chen-la*, later devotes a fairly lengthy notice to a country known as *Tan-mei-liu* 丹眉流[8] also situated to the west of *Chen-la*. This latter account is repeated in chapter 332 of the *Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao*, where the country is called *Chou-mei-liu* 州眉流. On the grounds of similarity of position relative to *Chen-la*, Pelliot equated the *Teng-liu-mei* of the *Ling-wai Tai-ta*, the *Chu-fan-chih* and the *Sung-shih* with the *Tan-mei-liu* mentioned on a later folio of the *Sung-shih* and with the *Chou-mei-liu* of the *Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao*. Certainly such a transposition of characters is not uncommon in Chinese forms of foreign place-names, but the descriptions associated with the two versions are by no means identical. There is also a further consideration which prevents us accepting Pelliot's thesis. It is difficult to conceive how *chou* 州 could be substituted for *tan* 丹, but not at all improbable that *tan*

[1] Translations in this chapter are based largely on those in Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*.

[2] A confused jumble of mis-statements. See Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 58, note 2. *Wu-nung* may possibly be a transcription of the Malay *gunong*, meaning 'mountain'.

[3] See Chao Ju-kua, *Chu-fan-chih*, pt. 2, pp. 31–3.

[4] *Chu-fan-chih*, p. 3.

[5] Chap. 2, f. 5 recto.

[6] Chap. 7, f. 1 recto.

[7] Chap. 489, f. 6 verso.

[8] Chap. 489, ff. 12 verso—13 recto.

should be inadvertently substituted for *chou* 舟. This would imply that the true name of the country was *Chou-mei-liu*, written with the orthography 舟 or 洲眉流, and this is a very different form from the *Teng-liu-mei* discussed above. In fact there is no longer any compulsion to equate these two kingdoms and every reason to treat them as separate entities.

In locating this state we can ignore Schlegel's suggestion which places it on the upper course of the Menam Chao P'raya,[1] and for two good reasons we must reject Pelliot's location at Ligor.[2] In the first place, Chao Ju-kua tells us that the C'aiya district to the north was tributary to *Śrī Vijaya*, so that it is extremely unlikely that Cambodian dependencies were situated to the south of that region. Second, Ligor was the site of the state of *Tāmbraliṅga*, which Chao Ju-kua treats separately under the heading of *Tan-ma-ling*, and which formed, moreover, another element in the *Śrī Vijayan* empire. Gerini identified *Teng-liu-mei* with the *Taluma* mentioned in the *Memoirs of Lady Rēvatī Nobamāś*, a Siamese work dating from the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century,[3] and sought a site on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula in the neighbourhood of Patalung or Tĕlubin. This argument is open to the same objections as those which undermined Pelliot's hypothesis, namely, the difficulty of locating a dependency of Cambodia within the sphere of influence of *Śrī Vijaya*. If, as the *Sung-shih* leads us to suppose, *Teng-liu-mei* or *Tan-mei-liu* or *Chou-mei-liu* was on the Peninsula, then it must have been far to the north, and certainly not south, of Kra.

2. TAN-MA-LING 單馬令

單馬令國. 地主呼爲相公. 以木作柵爲城. 廣六七尺. 高二丈餘. 上堪征戰. 國人乘牛打鬃跣足. 屋舍官場用木. 民居用竹. 障以葉. 繫以藤. 土產黃蠟. 降眞香. 速香. 烏楠木. 腦子, 象牙, 犀角, 番商用絹傘, 雨傘, 荷池繲絹, 酒, 米, 鹽, 糖, 瓷器, 盆鉢, 麤重等物. 及用金銀爲盤盂博易. 日囉亭. 潛邁拔沓, 加囉希, 類此本國以所得金銀器. 糾集日囉亭等國類聚. 獻入三佛齊國.

The ruler of the Kingdom of *Tan-ma-ling* is called Hsiang-Kung [lit. = Minister of State]. Around the city there is a wooden palisade six or seven feet thick and

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[1] *TP*, vol. x (1899), pp. 291–7.

[2] *BEFEO*, vol. iv, (1904), p. 233.

[3] *Researches*, p. 524.

over twenty feet high, which can be used [as a platform] for fighting. The inhabitants of the country ride buffaloes, knot their hair behind and go barefooted. For their houses officials use wood while the common people build bamboo huts with leaf partitions and rattan bindings.[1] Indigenous products include bee's wax, lakawood, gharuwood (*su* variety), ebony, camphor, ivory and rhinoceros horn. Foreign [merchants] traffic in pongee parasols and umbrellas, skeins of *Ho-ch'ih* silk,[2] wine, rice, salt, sugar, porcelain vessels, earthenware bowls and similar coarse and heavy wares, together with gold and silver platters. *Jih-lo-t'ing*,[3] *Ch'ien-mai-pa-t'a*[4] and *Chia-lo-hsi*[5] are similar countries. This country [*Tan-ma-ling*] collects whatever gold and silver vessels it receives, while *Jih-lo-t'ing* and the other countries make similar collections, [all of which] are presented to *San-fo-ch'i* [as tribute].

Tan-ma-ling is also listed as a dependency of *Śrī Vijaya* (page 5), and on the same page we learn of alternative routes to *Langkasuka*. One, by sea, occupied six days and nights; the other, overland, was of unspecified duration.[6]

One of the earliest scholars to speculate on the whereabouts of *Tan-ma-ling* was Takakusu,[7] who placed it in Sumatra, a location also favoured by Schlegel.[8] Pelliot[9] and Gerini[10] both sought to identify the name with Těmběling, found in at least two localities on the Malay Peninsula. None of these identifications has stood the test of time and it is now accepted that *Tan-ma-ling* is a Chinese transcription of the *Tāmbraliṅga* of the Grahi inscription, the *Mādāmaliṅgam* of the Tanjore inscription (page 200) and the *Tan-ma-ling* 丹馬令 of the *Tao-i Chih-lioh*, all of which refer to a state in the Ligor district.[11]

3. LING-YA-SSŬ[-CHIA] 凌牙斯[加]

凌牙斯國. 自單馬令風帆六晝夜可到. 亦有陸程. 地主纏緜跣足. 國人剪髮亦纏緜. 地產象牙, 犀角, 速暫香, 生香, 腦子. 蕃商興販. 用

[1] These remarks are equally true of much of North Malaya even today. See, for example, the description of the houses in Mukim Padang Pauh (Pĕrlis) in Dobby, *MJTG*, vol. x (1957), pp. 55–8.

[2] *Ho-ch'ih* was a silk-producing district in Shen-si under the Sui dynasty. Probably some silk cloth still bore this name in the thirteenth century (Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 68).

[3] p. 71 below.

[4] p. 71 below.

[5] p. 72 below.

[6] p. 68 below.

[7] *A record of the Buddhist religion*, pp. xliii–xlv.

[8] *TP*, 2e série, vol. ii (1901), p. 130.

[9] *BEFEO*, vol. iv (1904), p. 328, note 6.

[10] *JRAS*, (1905), p. 498.

[11] I hold to this customary identification despite the challenging and persuasive arguments of Sir Roland Braddell, *JMBRAS*, vol. xxiii, pt. 3 (1950), pp. 1–35.

酒米, 荷池緜絹, 瓷器, 等爲貨. 各先以此等物準金銀然後打博. 如酒壹壜. 準銀一兩準金二錢米二壜. 準銀一兩. 十壜準金一兩之類. 歲貢三佛齊國.

One can sail from *Tan-ma-ling* (*Tāmbraliṅga* = Ligor) to the Kingdom of *Lang-ya-ssŭ* in six days and nights. There is also a land route. The ruler of the country wraps himself in silk and goes bare-footed. The inhabitants of the country trim their hair and wear silk. Local products include ivory, rhinoceros horn, *su*, *chan* and *sheng* [varieties of gharuwood][1] and camphor. Foreign merchants trade there in spirits, rice, skeins of *Ho-ch'ih* silk,[2] porcelain vessels and suchlike goods. Each of them first weighs his goods against gold and silver and afterwards engages in barter. For example, one *teng*[3] of wine is equated with one ounce of silver or one-fifth of an ounce of gold; two *teng* of rice are equated with one ounce of silver, ten *teng* with an ounce of gold, and so forth. Annual tribute is offered to *San-fo-ch'i*.

On page 5 the Kingdom of *Lang-ya-ssŭ-chia* features as a dependency of *Śrī Vijaya*. Both forms of this name refer of course to the Kingdom of *Langkasuka*, which is discussed in Chapter XVI.

4. FO-LO-AN 佛囉安

佛囉安國. 自凌牙斯加四日可到. 亦可遵陸. 其國有飛來佛二尊. 一有六臂. 一有四臂. 賊舟欲入其境必爲風挽回. 俗謂佛之靈也. 佛殿以銅爲瓦. 飾之以金. 每年以六月望日爲佛生日. 動樂鐃鈸迎導甚都. 番商亦預焉. 土產速暫香, 降眞香, 檀香, 象牙等. 番以金, 銀, 瓷, 鐵, 漆器, 酒, 米, 糖, 麥, 博易, 歲貢三佛齊. 其隣蓬豐. 登牙儂, 加吉蘭丹類此.

The Kingdom of *Fo-lo-an* can be reached in four days from *Ling-ya-ssŭ-chia;* one can also travel by land. Two Buddhas flew into this country, one with six, the other with four, arms.[4] When pirate ships are about to enter the region they are inevitably driven back by the wind. This is popularly ascribed to the influence of the Buddhas. The Buddhist temples are tiled with bronze and ornamented with gold. Each year the full moon of the sixth month is kept as the Buddha's birthday, with processions, music and cymbals. Foreign merchants take part in the celebrations.[5] Indigenous products include *su* and *chan* [varieties of gharuwood], lakawood, sandalwood, ivory and suchlike, for which foreigners barter gold, silver, porcelain, iron, lacquer-ware, wine, rice, sugar and wheat. Yearly

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[1] For a description of these aromatics see Chao Ju-kua, *Chu-fan-chih*, pt. 2 pp. 31–3.

[2] p. 67 above.

[3] In Chinese Buddhist works explained as 'a Buddhist weight' (Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 69, note 2).

[4] Avalokiteśvara or Kuan-Yin.

[5] Similar celebrations were held at the same time in *P'o-ni* 浡尼 (= Borneo). Cp. Chao Ju-kua, *Chu-fan-chih*, p. 24.

[*Fo-lo-an*] offers tribute to *San-fo-ch'i*. It [*Fo-lo-an*] adjoins *P'eng-feng* (Pahang). *Teng-ya-nung* (Trĕngganu) and *Chi-lan-tan* (Kĕlantan) are of a similar character.[1]

To this account the *Ling-wai Tai-ta* (chapter 2) adds: 'The chief of *Fo-lo-an* is appointed from *San-fo-ch'i*. The country produces aromatics with which those of the Lower Coast cannot compare in aroma or strength. . . . There is here a Holy Buddha before which the princes of *San-fo-ch'i* annually burn incense'. Finally, there is a short but important reference in Chao Ju-kua's section on the Arab countries, where we learn that *Śrī Vijaya* and *Fo-lo-an* were the chief South-East Asian entrepôts for the merchandise of those lands (page 16: 番商興販係就三佛齊佛囉安等國轉易). So far as *Śrī Vijaya* is concerned this statement is abundantly endorsed by contemporary records but it can only be a matter for surprise that there is no reference in the whole of Arab topographical literature to an emporium as important as *Fo-lo-an*. In default of such evidence the position of this kingdom must be deduced from the information supplied by Chao Ju-kua. Schlegel,[2] relying on the text from the *San-ts'ai T'u-hui*, identified *Fo-lo-an* with Puluan in Palembang residency. Gerini,[3] after several abortive guesses, settled for Bĕranang on the Langat River, a solution which has attained wide currency.[4] *Fo-lo-an* is phonetically adequate and Bĕranang might be described as adjoining Pahang—though only in the most general fashion—but it enjoys no great similarity to Trĕngganu or Kĕlantan, while it is clearly more than four days' sailing from *Langkasuka* (Patani). Moreover, there are over seventy

[1] A parallel passage in the *San-ts'ai-t'u-hui* of 1607 locates *Fo-lo-an* at a distance of four days and nights by sea not from *Ling-ya-ssŭ-chia* but from *San-fo-ch'i*, and similarly connects the two places by a land route. This relationship, which would place *Fo-lo-an* in Sumatra, is not to be reconciled with Chao Ju-kua's contemporary description of the country as adjoining Pahang. The same notice relates that foreigners trying to loot jewels from the temples of *Fo-lo-an* were invariably repelled by storms 'as soon as they arrived at the mouth of the river'. Such a riverine site as is here implied is not incompatible with the location proposed below.

「按三才圖會佛囉安國自三佛齊國風帆四晝夜可致其國. 亦可遵陸至其國. 國有飛來銅神二個. 一個六臂. 一個四臂. 六月十五日生日. 如有外國欲來刼奪神廟珠玉. 至港口, 則遇大風浪作. 船不可進」.

[2] *TP*, tome ix (1898), pp. 402–6 and 2e série, tome ii (1900), p. 134.

[3] *Researches*, pp. 598–601 and 825–6; *JRAS*, (1905), p. 498.

[4] It has been adopted, for example, by Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 60, note 1; *Feng Ch'eng-chün*, 中國南洋交通史, p. 65; Fujita Toyohachi, 中國南海古代交通叢考, map opp. p, 170; Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvipa*, pt. 1, p. 194; Nilakanta Sastri, *BEFEO*, tome xl, (1904), p. 294. H. G. Q. Wales has found few supporters for his suggested identification with Bidor in the Kinta valley (*JMBRAS*, vol. xviii, pt. 1, 1940, p. 80).

miles of swampy, meandering river-course between Bĕranang and the open sea which would have hindered its development as an entrepôt for Arab trade. In Bĕranang village today the river is little more than a ditch.

This identification has, in fact, never been accepted by two of the shrewdest scholars of this period, Otto Blagden[1] and George Coedès,[2] both of whom suggest, though without conviction, a connexion with the modern Patalung. This is more in accord with the sailing time—though the distance may be a little short—but the phonetic correspondence is less exact and Patalung can hardly be said to adjoin Pahang.

In place of both these suggestions I am inclined to see in *Fo-lo-an* a possible reference to [Kuala] Bĕrang. From this point, some twenty miles up the Trĕngganu River, comes a fourteenth-century stone inscription which provides the earliest record of Islam on the Peninsula,[3] and what could be more likely than that Islam established itself most readily in a locality long frequented by Muslim merchants? Kuala Bĕrang might well have been thought, so vague were the geographical notions of the thirteenth century, to adjoin Pahang and certainly has a terrain similar to that of Trĕngganu and Kĕlantan. The protective influence of Avalokiteś-vara could then possibly have been a dramatization of the difficulty experienced by vessels approaching the shelving Trĕgganu shore during the north-east monsoon.

Sundry other fragments of information contribute to our knowledge of Malaya at this time. Among the countries listed by Chao Ju-kua as dependencies of *San-fo-ch'i* (page 5) the following were situated on the Peninsula:

(i) *P'eng-feng* 蓬豐. This is the state which appears in the *Ming-shih* (chapter 325) as *P'eng-heng* 彭亨, *P'en-heng* 盆亨 and *P'eng-k'eng* 彭坑, as *Pang-hang* 邦項 in the *Hai-lu*, and *P'eng-k'eng* in the *Tao-i Chih-lioh* and *Hsing-ch'a Sheng-lan* (page 90 below). Its identification with modern Pahang, first proposed by Bretschneider,[4] received the imprimatur of Pelliot in his 'Deux

[1] Letter to W. W. Rockhill, quoted in *TP*, tome xvi (1915), p. 123, note 1.

[2] *Les états hindouisés*, p. 308.

[3] Paterson, *JMBRAS*, vol. ii, p. 3 (1924), pp. 252–8 and Blagden, *JMBRAS*, vol. ii, pt. 3 (1924), pp. 258–63.

[4] *Ch. R*, vol. iv, p. 387.

Itinéraires',[1] and is still good currency. The aberrations of Schlegel[2] and Gerini[3] can be ignored in regard to both this and succeeding place-names.

On page 33 Chao Ju-kua adds that lakawood 降眞香 is a product of *P'eng-feng*.

(ii) *Teng-ya-nung* 登牙農 (Trĕngganu). Again only Schlegel[4] and Gerini[5] have questioned this identification, which is without doubt the correct one. These scholars were misled by their conviction that the *Śrī Vijayan* empire was restricted to Sumatra.

(iii) *Ling-ya-ssŭ-chia (Langkasuka)*. See Chapter XVI.

(iv) *Chi-lan-chou* 吉蘭舟 is obviously a mislection for *Chi-lan-tan* 吉蘭丹, compared on page 6 with *Fo-lo-an* and Trĕngganu. There can be no doubt that it is modern Kĕlantan.

(v) *Fo-lo-an* (pages 68–70 above).

(vi) *Jih-lo-t'ing* 日羅亭. On page 5 this state is compared with Grahi, *Tāmbraliṅga* and the unidentified *Ch'ien-mai-pa-t'a*. It is the *Māyiruḍingam* of the Tanjore inscription (page 200 below), and was probably a state on the Malay Peninsula, presumably in the vicinity of Grahi and Ligor, its analogues.[6]

(vii) *Ch'ien-mai-pa-t'a* 潛邁拔沓 (unidentified). Most writers have read this as two place-names. Schlegel, for example, identified *Ch'ien-mai* with Jambi[7] while Gerini sought it near Pasai in North Sumatra.[8] Schlegel's identification of *Pa-t'a* with the Batak country[9] of Sumatra has gained some currency owing to its reluctant adoption by Coedès[10] and Nilakanta Sastri.[11] However, in both the section on *Śrī Vijaya* and in that on *Tan-ma-ling* the four characters for *Ch'ien-mai-pa-t'a* follow one another directly, and it would seem preferable not to invoke coincidence unnecessarily. In any

[1] *BEFEO*, tome iv (1904), p. 344, note 4.
[2] *TP*, 2e série, tome ii (1900), p. 132.
[3] *JRAS*, (1905), p. 499.
[4] *TP*, 2e série, tome ii (1900), p. 132.
[5] *JRAS*, (1905), pp. 498–9.
[6] Coedès, *BEFEO*, tome xviii (1918), pp. 10–11.
[7] *TP*, 2e série, tome ii (1900), p. 134.
[8] *Researches*, p. 627.
[9] *TP*, (1900), p. 135.
[10] *Les états hindouisés*, p. 308.
[11] *BEFEO*, tome xl (1940), p. 294.

case, the *Ts'eng-shu-chi-ch'eng* edition of the *Chu-fan-chih* punctuates the phrase as one name.

As *Ch'ien-mai-pa-t'a* is mentioned among a series of place-names which are known to have been on the Malay Peninsula, it is not unlikely that it too was a kingdom in the same region.

(viii) *Tan-ma-ling* (page 66 above).

(ix) *Chia-lo-hsi* 加羅希 (Cantonese: *Ka-lo-hei* = C'aiya, an identification established by Coedès with his customary lucidity in his monograph of 1918).[1] On page 3 of *Chu-fan-chih* we are told that this state adjoined the southern frontier of *Chen-la*,[2] while on page 5 it is compared, under the orthography 加囉希, with *Jih-lo-t'ing*, *Ch'ien-mai-pa-t'a* and *Tan-ma-ling*.

Two other place-names are of considerable interest. On page 11 the *Chu-fan-chih* says that ships come annually to *Nan-p'i* 南毗 (the Nair country of Malabar) from *San-fo-ch'i*, *Chien-pi* 監篦 (in east Sumatra)[3] and *Chi-t'o* 吉陀. This last name, which occurs again in the *Tao-i Chih-lioh* and the *Hsing-ch'a Sheng-lan*, has been identified by Coedès as the Tamil *Kiḍa* in *Kiḍāram*.[4] It would seem, therefore, to be another version of the 吉達 *Chi-ta* of the *Wu-pei-chih* chart (page 94 below).

The second of these incidental references concerns *Ling-ya-men* 凌牙門 (literally Lingga Strait, that is modern Běrhala Strait),[5] about which Chao Ju-kua has the following remarks (page 4): 冬月順風月餘方至凌牙門經商三分之一始入其國. The first part of this sentence is clear enough: 'In the winter, sailing before the monsoon for a little more than a month, one comes to *Ling-ya-men*.' But the precise meaning of the second half is obscure. Hirth and Rockhill[6] construe this clause as, '. . . where one-third of the passing merchants [put in] before entering this country [*San-fo-ch'i*]'. Some Chinese scholars, however, treating the passage as

[1] *BEFEO*, tome xviii (1918), pp. 33–5 and *Les états hindouisés*, pp. 274, 304 and 309. For other untenable hypotheses see Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 66, note 10.

[2] Repeated by Ma Tuan-lin, *Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao*, chap. 332.

[3] The *Kampe* of the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*. See Schlegel, *TP*, 2e série, tome ii (1902), p. 138; *Pelliot*, *BEFEO*, tome iv (1904) p. 344, note 4; and Coedès, *Les états hindouisés*, p. 309.

[4] *BEFEO*, vol. xviii (1918), p. 21.

[5] Braddell, *JMBRAS*, vol. xxiii, pt. 1 (1950), pp. 43, 48, and Gibson-Hill, *MRM*, no. 3 (1956), p. 37, note 58.

[6] *Chau Ju-kua*, pp. 60 and 63.

mutilated, consider it implies that a levy of one-third *ad valorem* was exacted on merchandise carried by the ships. There is also a third possibility: 'Of passing merchants only (始) one-third enter this country [around *Ling-ya-men*]'. Of these translations none is wholly satisfactory, but probably Hirth and Rockhill's rendering raises fewest problems. On page 35 *Ling-ya-men* is described as a market for Javanese mats.

Since T'ang times the political structure of the Peninsula has evidently undergone a radical change. Of the old Chinese names, only *Ling-ya-ssŭ-chia* and *Chi-t'o* remain, both in modified form. In their place we find some eleven kingdoms—more if we accept all the identifications of Hirth and Rockhill—of which four bear modern names in light disguise: Pahang, Kĕlantan, Trĕngganu and C'aiya. The greater part of the Peninsula is subject to *Śrī Vijaya* but Khmer influence is paramount north of Ligor. Cultural and economic development is still restricted to the northern regions. Pahang, it is true, is known as a source of laka-wood but does not feature among Chao Ju-kua's descriptions, while, judging from the sole, incidental allusion to *Chi-t'o* (Kĕdah), the settlement round the Mĕrbok and Muda estuaries has lost much of its former importance. In any case we are left with the impression that—as might have been expected—the Chinese were better acquainted with the east coast of the Peninsula than with the west.

To the Chinese the Peninsular states were sources of jungle products, notably aromatic woods, spices, ivory and rhinoceros horn, the last being an important item in their pharmacopoeia. *Teng-liu-mei* had the distinction of producing the very highest quality gharuwood. In return for these primary commodities merchants supplied the indigenous folk with three categories of goods: (a) those such as salt, rice, iron and earthenware which were necessary to maintain a standard of living in the coastal kingdoms a few levels above that of the aborigines of the interior; (b) luxuries such as gold, silver, silks, porcelain and lacquer-ware for the members of the ruling hierarchy; and (c) objects for ceremonial use such as parasols, and probably some of the items listed under (b). The following table summarizes the trade between China and the kingdoms of the Malay Peninsula so far as it can be elicited from the works of Chou Ch'ü-fei and Chao Ju-kua.

THIRTEENTH-CENTURY TRADE BETWEEN CHINA AND THE MALAY PENINSULA

		Teng-liu-mei	*Tan-ma-ling*	*Ling-ya-ssu-chia*	*Fo-lo-an*	*P'eng-feng*
Exports from the states of the Malay Peninsula	Bee's-wax 黃蠟	x	x			
	camphor 腦子		x	x		
	cardamom 白豆蔻	x				
	ebony 烏楠子		x			
	chien 箋 香 Varieties of gharuwood	x				
	su 速 香 Varieties of gharuwood	x	x	x	x	
	ch'en 沉 香 Varieties of gharuwood	x				
	chan 暫 香 Varieties of gharuwood			x	x	
	sheng 生 香 Varieties of gharuwood			x		
	ivory 象牙		x	x	x	
	lac 紫礦	x				
	lakawood 降眞香		x		x	x
	rhinoceros horn 犀角		x	x		
	sandalwood 檀香				x	
Imports into the states of the Malay Peninsula	earthenware bowls 盆鉢		x			
	gold and silver 金, 銀		x		x	
	iron 鐵				x	
	lacquer-ware 漆器				x	
	pongee parasols and umbrellas 絹傘, 雨傘		x			
	porcelain vessels 瓷器		x	x	x	
	rice 米		x	x	x	
	salt 鹽		x			
	skeins of Ho-ch'ih silk 荷池縐絹		x	x		
	sugar 糖		x		x	
	wheat 麥				x	
	spirits 酒		x	x	x	

CHAPTER VII

'THE BARBARIANS OF THE ISLES'

WHEN in 1277 the Mongols established their power in the maritime provinces of South China they continued to maintain the Sung organization of merchant-shipping offices, and hastened to restore the foreign trade which their military campaigns and the ensuing change of government had disrupted. In the eighth moon of 1278 a memorial to the Emperor emphasized the importance of encouraging trade relations with the peoples of the Southern Isles, as a result of which proclamations were issued at a number of Chinese cities encouraging the 'barbarians' to come to such ports as Chang-chou, Ch'üan-chou, T'ing-chou, Shao-chou and Wu-chou.[1] In 1279 the proclamations were repeated and it was decided that titles should be conferred on such rulers as responded to the imperial summons. Foreign missions began to arrive in the same year and came with increasing frequency during the era of the Yüan dynasty. In 1286, for example, the emperor received in audience and accepted tribute from the sons or younger brothers of the rulers of no less than ten kingdoms ranging from Malabar to Sumatra.[2] What may be called the diplomatic history of this period so far as it concerns China and the South Seas has been summarized by W. W. Rockhill,[3] who makes it clear that in the early days of their dynasty the Mongol authorities spared no pains to encourage traders from South-East Asia to bring their rich cargoes of spices, pearls, perfumes and aromatic wood to South Chinese ports. But at the dawn of the fourteenth century the government became alarmed at the outflow of China's metallic currency and took measures to restrict its use as payment for luxury articles from abroad. In 1293 a uniform import duty at all ports had been fixed at three-thirtieths, but private trading abroad in gold, silver, copper cash, iron-ware and slaves had been strictly prohibited. This measure was repealed in 1303 but

[1] *Yüan-shih*, chap. 10.
[2] *Yüan-shih*, chap. 14.
[3] *TP*, tome xv (1914), pp. 423–47.

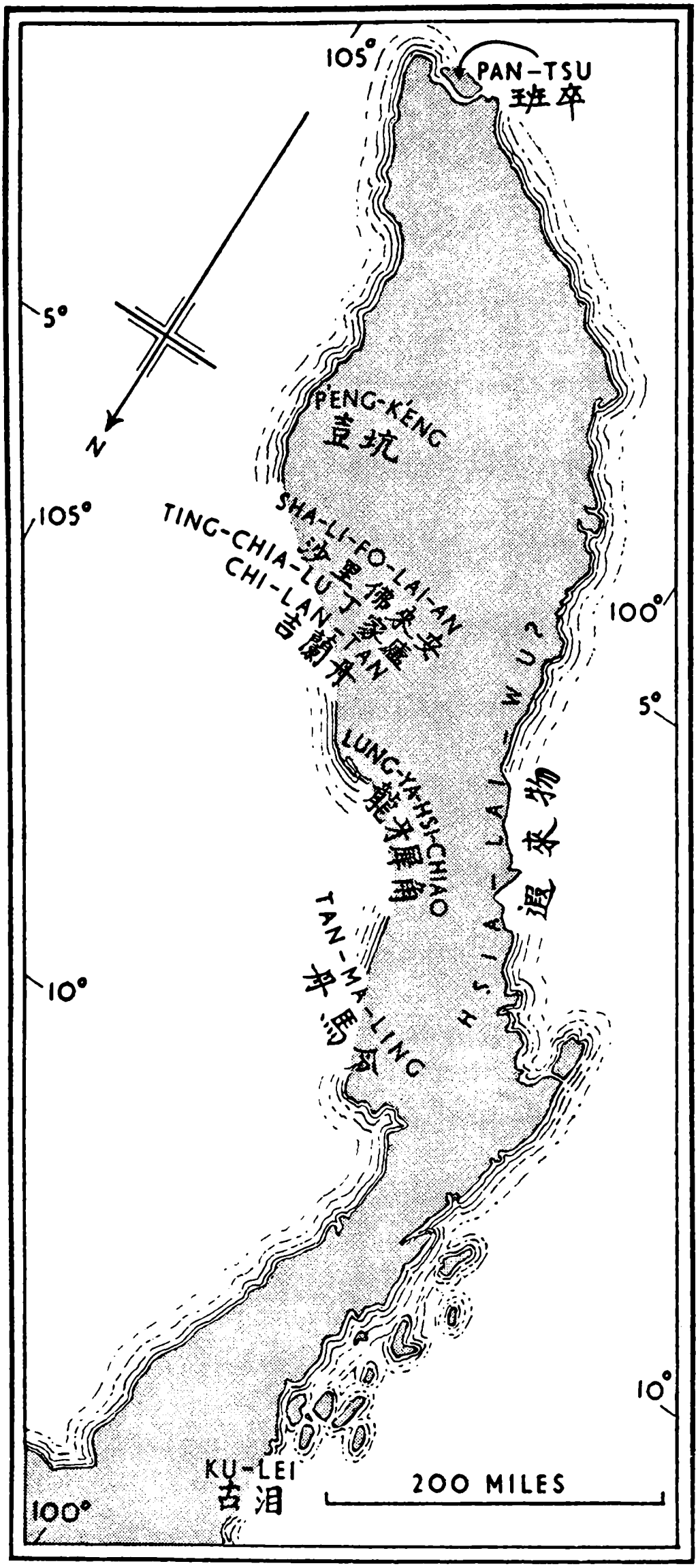

Fig. 14. The place-names of the Malay Peninsula according to Wang Ta-yüan in A.D. 1349.

re-enacted in 1314, when the import duty was fixed at two-tenths for 'fine goods' and two-fifteenths for 'coarse'. In 1324 the Governor of Fu-kien was ordered to levy heavy duties on ships bringing the so-called 'tribute', while in 1329 the Court refused to accept expensive but useless gifts, described in the *Yüan-shih* as a 'canker devouring the riches of the state' 蠹耗國財,[1] which had to be paid for at a fixed rate.

Despite these close trading ties we have only one contemporary account of the countries of the South Seas. This is included in the *Tao-i Chih-lioh* 島夷誌畧, compiled by Wang Ta-yüan 汪大淵, who himself travelled in the South Seas during the thirteen-thirties and -forties. The countries which have been located on the Malay Peninsula with some degree of certainty are discussed below in the order in which they appear in the *Tao-i Chih-lioh*.

1. TAN-MA-LING 丹馬令 [folio 5 recto et verso].

地與沙里佛來安爲隣國山平亙田多食粟有餘新收者復留以待陳俗節儉氣候溫和男女椎髻衣白衣衫繫青布縵定婚用緞錦白錫若干塊民煑海爲鹽釀小米爲酒有酋長產上等白錫朱腦龜筒鶴頂降眞香及黃蠟黃執香頭貿易之貨用甘理布紅布青白花碗鼓之屬

It adjoins the kingdom of *Sha-li-fo-lai-an*.[2] It comprises an extensive plain where the production of grain exceeds consumption. Newly harvested grain is put aside for future use for [the inhabitants] are economical in their manner of life. The climate is pleasantly warm. Men and women tie their hair in a knot. Their dress is a white shirt with a black cotton sarong. In their marriage arrangements they use satins, brocades or a measure of tin. The inhabitants boil sea-water to obtain salt and they ferment millet to produce spirits. They are under a chieftain. Indigenous products include high quality tin, pearl camphor, turtles' carapaces, hornbill casques, lakawood, bee's wax and *huang-shu-hsiang-t'ou* (gharuwood). The goods used in trade are *kan-li*[3] cottons, red cottons, blue and white porcelain bowls and drums.[4]

This country is clearly the same as that known to Chao Ju-kua a century and a quarter earlier as 單馬令 and was, as we have seen, situated in the vicinity of modern Ligor.

[1] Chap. 104.

[2] Possibly the *Fo-lo-an* 佛羅安 of Chao Ju-kua, p. 68 above.

[3] Rockhill's text apparently read *mai* 埋 (although he reproduces *li*—*TP*, vol. xvi, 1915, p. 124) which is the usual form in Wang's book. It may be an abbreviation of the name *Kan-mai-li*, a country probably situated somewhere in the Middle East (*Tao-i Chih-lioh*, ff. 30 verso–31 recto).

[4] Translations in this section are based on those of Rockhill, *TP*, vol xvi (1915), pp. 61–159.

2. HSIA-LAI-WU 遐來物 [folio 6 recto].

古泊之下山盤數百里厥田中下俗尙妖怪氣候春夏秋熱冬微冷則人無病反此則瘴生人畜死男女挽髻纏紅布繫青綿布捎凡人死則研生腦調水灌之以養其屍欲葬而不腐民煑海爲鹽釀椰漿爲酒有酋長地產蘇木玳瑁木棉花檳榔貿易之貨用占城海南布鐵線銅鼎紅絹五色布木梳篦子青器粗碗之屬

[This country] extends in curving reaches for some hundreds of *li* below *Ku-lei*.[1] Its fields are middling to poor. The people are concerned with the supernatural. In spring, summer and autumn the weather is hot, in winter it is moderately cool, so that the inhabitants do not suffer from sickness. Under other conditions malaria breaks out and animals die. Men and women draw back their hair, wear red turbans and wrap black cotton sarongs around themselves. When anyone dies they crush raw camphor, mix it with water and pour it over the corpse to preserve it, so that it will not decompose on being buried. The inhabitants boil sea-water to obtain salt and ferment coconut juice to make spirits. They are under a chieftain. Indigenous products include sapanwood, tortoise-shell, cotton and betel-nuts. The goods used in trading are *Chan-ch'eng* (Annamese) and Hainanese cottons, iron wire, copper cauldrons, red pongees, coloured cotton, fine-toothed wooden combs, blue porcelain, coarse bowls and suchlike things.

The reasons for including *Hsia-lai-wu* with the Malayan kingdoms are purely inferential. It occurs at the head of a sequence of Malayan states in the *Tao-i Chih-lioh* and shares in their general characteristics. In particular there is the possibility that it adjoined *Fo-lo-an* (Kuala Bĕrang) and *Ko-lo* (Mergui district). However, none of these features is diagnostic and the inclusion of *Hsia-lai-wu* here is merely tentative.

3. P'ENG-K'ENG 彭坑 [folio 6 recto et verso]. Pahang.

石崖週匝崎嶇遠如平塞田沃穀稍登氣候半熱風俗與丁家廬小異男女推髻穿長布衫繫單布梢富貴女頂帶金圈數回常人以五色焄珠爲圈以束之凡講婚姻五造換白銀五錢重爲準民煑海爲鹽釀柳漿爲酒有酋長地產黃執香頭沈速打白香腦子花錫粗降眞貿易之貨用諸色絹閣婆布銅鐵器漆磁器鼓板之屬

It is surrounded by rocky mountains of a rugged and precipitous nature, which in the distance appear like a level-topped rampart. The soil is fertile and fairly good for cereals. The climate is moderately warm. The customs differ but little from those of *Ting-chia-lu* (p. 79). Men and women tie their hair in a knot and wear a long cotton robe girded round with a cotton cord. Wealthy women wear a number of gold rings on the crowns of their heads while the common people keep their hair in order with bead rings of five colours. Marriage negotiations are settled with five *tsao*, which is the equivalent of five candarins' weight of

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[1] Unidentified. In Cantonese *Ku-lou*, and Rockhill (*TP*, vol. xvi, 1915, p. 122, note 1) has suggested it may be an irregular form of *Ko-lo*, *q.v.*, p. 55.

silver. The inhabitants of *P'eng-k'eng* boil sea-water to obtain salt and ferment the juice of coconuts to distil spirits. They are ruled by a chieftain. The indigenous products are *huang-shu*, *ch'en* and *su* [varieties of] gharuwood, ta-pai perfume,[1] camphor, tin, and a coarse lakawood. The goods used in trade are varicoloured pongees, *She-p'o* (Javanese) cottons, copper- and iron-ware, lacquer-ware and musical instruments.

This, the earliest extant Chinese description of Pahang, agrees fairly well with the accounts in the *Hsing-ch'a Sheng-lan* and the official Ming history.

4. CHI-LAN-TAN 吉蘭丹 [folio 6 verso]. Kĕlantan

地勢博大山膚而田少夏熱而倍收氣候平熱風俗尙禮男女束髮繫短衫布皂縵每遇四時節序生辰婚嫁之類衣紅布長衫爲慶民煑海爲鹽織木棉爲業有酋長地產上等沈速粗降眞香黃蠟龜筒鶴頂檳榔外有小港索遷極深水鹹魚美出花錫貨用塘頭布占城布靑盤花碗紅綠焰珠琴阮鼓板之屬

The country is extensive, the soil is sterile and arable land scarce. The summers are hot and double cropping is practised.[2] The climate is uniformly warm. [The inhabitants] are lovers of ceremony. Men and women bind up their hair and wear short tunics with black cotton sarongs. To celebrate festivals during the year or anniversaries or weddings they don long, red, cotton shifts. They boil sea-water to obtain salt and occupy themselves in weaving cotton cloth. They are ruled by a chieftain. Indigenous products include high quality *ch'en* and *su* [varieties of] gharuwood, coarse lakawood, bee's wax, turtle carapaces, hornbill casques and betelnuts. Beyond [this place] there is a small creek, secluded and very deep, with salt water and splendid fish. [*Chi-lan-tan*] produces tin. The goods used in trading are *T'ang-t'ou*[3] and *Chan-ch'eng* (Annamese) cottons, blue plates, decorated cups, red and green beads, lutes and other musical instruments.

5. TING-CHIA-LU 丁家廬 [folio 7 recto]. Trĕngganu.

三角嶼對境港已通其津要山高曠田中下下民食足春多雨氣候微熱風俗尙恠男女推髻穿綠頡布短衫繫遮里絹刻木爲神殺人血和酒祭之每水旱疫癘禱之則立應及婚姻病喪則卜其吉凶亦驗今酋長主事貪禁勤儉守土地產降眞腦子黃蠟玳瑁貨用靑白花磁器占城布小紅絹斗錫酒之屬

[1] Unexplained.

[2] Plural cropping of padi is most unusual in Malaya. In Kĕlantan today it is practised only in coastal locations and then is achieved only with the use of the short-term Taiwan variety introduced as recently as the Japanese occupation. Local farmers report that rainfall is inadequate and soil usually too poor to allow the regular taking of a second padi crop in any one year (Dobby, 'Padi landscapes of Malaya', *MJTG*, vol. x, 1957, p. 16), but vegetables are often grown as catch-crops on padi-land wherever there is sufficient moisture. Possibly this was what the Chinese had observed.

[3] Unidentified.

It is a triangular island separated from neighbouring districts by a creek which acts as an important water-way. The island is high and desolate. The fields are middling to poor, but even the poorest folk have enough food. There are heavy rains in spring and the climate is somewhat warm. The supernatural plays a large part in the mode of life of the people. Men and women tie their hair in a knot and wear a short tunic of green *hsieh* cotton tied round with *che-li*[1] taffetas. [The people] carve wooden gods, to whom they sacrifice the blood of men executed [for this purpose] mixed with wine.[2] When, during drought or plague, they pray [to these gods] their prayers are answered immediately. Moreover, when a man or his wife is seriously ill, they have their horoscopes cast, and for better or for worse they are fulfilled. The present ruler is capable, forbids greed and encourages diligence and frugality. Indigenous products include lakawood, camphor, bee's wax and tortoise-shell. The goods used in trading are blue and white porcelain, Chan-ch'eng (Annamese) cottons, small red pongees, tin, spirits and suchlike.

6. LUNG-YA-HSI-CHIAO 龍牙犀角

[folio 13 recto et verso]. Langkasuka.

峰嶺內平而外聳民環居之如蟻附坡厥田下等氣候半熱俗厚男女椎髻齒白繫麻逸布俗以結親爲重親戚之長者一日不見面必攜酒持物以問勞之爲長夜之飲不見其醉民煑海爲鹽釀秫爲酒有酋長地產沈香冠干諸番次鶴頂降眞蜜糖黃執香頭貿易之貨用土印布八都剌布青白花碗之屬

It is a range of hills, level on the inside but rising aloft from the outside. The inhabitants live settled all around like ants. The soil is of inferior quality. The climate is moderately warm. The customs are honest. Men and women braid their hair into chignons. Their teeth are white. They wrap around them a length of *Ma-i*[3] cotton cloth. It is their custom to attach great importance to family relationships. If they do not see their elder relatives every single day they take wine and presents and go to inquire if they are well; but if they have been drinking through the night, they do not see them until they are sober. The inhabitants of the country boil sea-water to make salt, and ferment glutinous rice to make spirits. They acknowledge a ruler. The native products are a gharu-wood superior to that of any other foreign country, together with hornbill casques, lakawood, honey and *huang-shu-hsiang-t'ou* [gharuwood]. The goods used in trading are native prints, *pa-tu-la*[4], cottons, blue and white porcelain bowls and suchlike.

There can be little doubt that *Lung-ya-hsi-chiao* is a form of the name *Langkasuka*, which is discussed at length in Chapter XVI.

[1] *Che-li*=Hindu *sari*. Rockhill (*TP*, vol. xvi, 1915, p. 119, note 1) identifies this with the *ch'e-li* 搪黎 of the *Ying-yai Sheng-lan* (指黎 in *Tsing-shu-chi-ch'eng* Edition, p. 61), which tells us that it was also called *hsi yang pu* 西洋布, a product of Cambay.

[2] Apparently a form of Tantric worship of the goddess Kālī.

[3] *Ma-i* was the Sung name for the Philippines. Cp. *Tao-i Chih-lioh*, f. 2 recto et verso and Chao Ju-kua, *Chu-fan-chih*, p. 25.

[4] Possibly Sanskrit *paṭala*, 'box, basket'. *Vide* Coedès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, vol. 1, p. 183; vol. 4, p. 114 and vol. 6, p. 252.

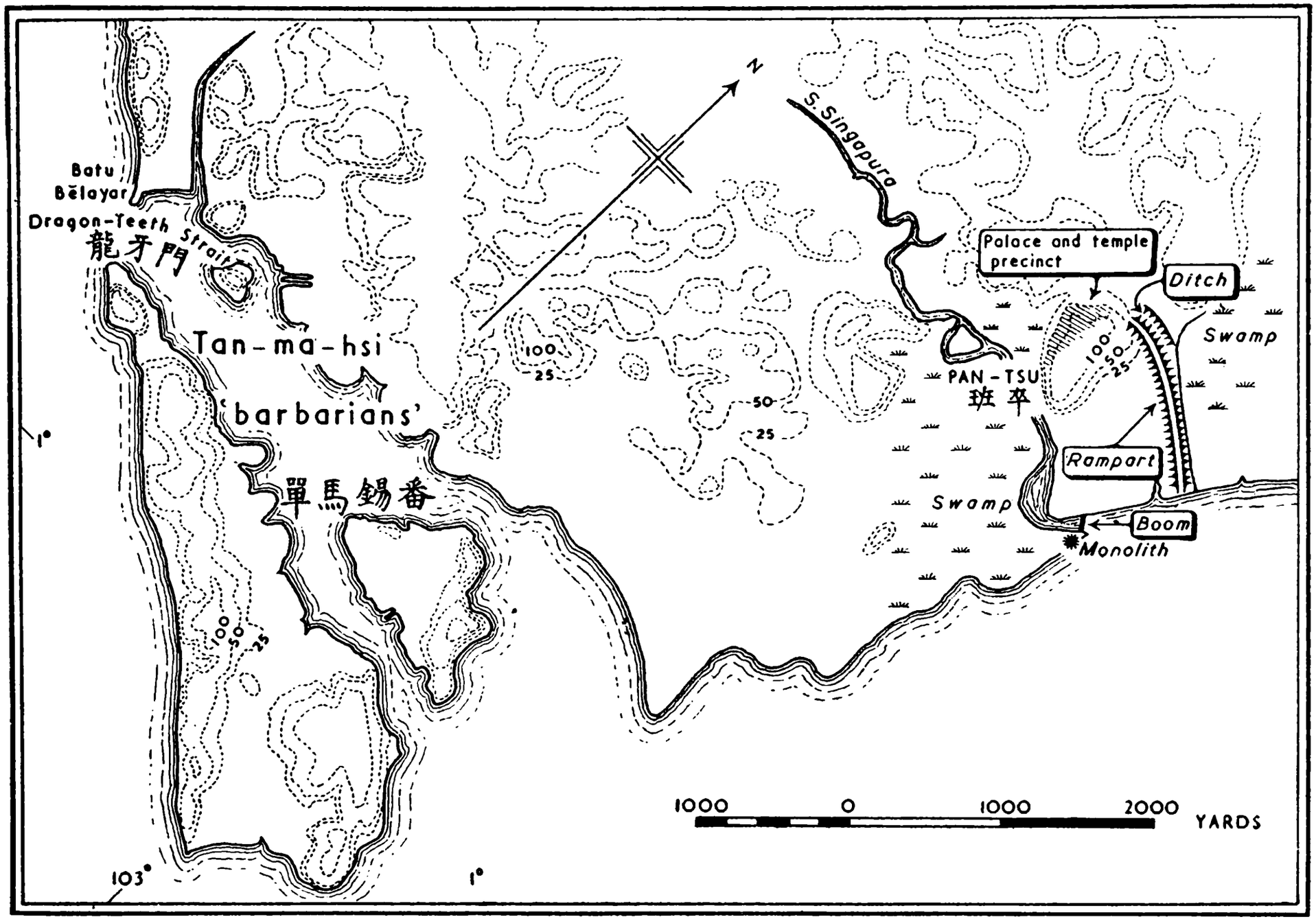

Fig. 15. The environs of ancient Singapura. *Based on descriptions in the* Tao-i Chih-lioh *and the* Sějarah Mělayu, *and on remains still visible at the beginning of the nineteenth century.*

7. LUNG-YA-MEN 龍牙門 [folio 16 recto et verso].
Dragon-teeth Strait.

門以單馬錫番兩山相交若龍牙門中有水道以閒之田瘠稻少天氣候熱四五月多淫雨俗好劫掠替酋長掘地而得玉冠歲之始以見月爲正初酋長戴冠披服受賀今亦遞相傳授男女兼中國人居之多推髻穿短布衫繫青布捎產粗降眞斗錫貿易之貨赤金青緞花布處磁器鐵鼎之類蓋以山無美材貢無異貨以通泉州之貿易皆剽竊之物也舶往西洋本番置之不問回船之際至吉利門舶人須駕箭櫬張布幕利器械以防之賊舟二三百隻必默來迎戰數日若僥倖順風或不遇之否則人爲所戮貨爲所有則人死係乎頃刻之間也

The strait runs between the two hills of the *Tan-ma-hsi* barbarians, which look like 'dragon's teeth'. Through the centre runs a waterway. The fields are barren and there is little padi. The climate is hot with very heavy rains in the fourth and fifth moons. The inhabitants are addicted to piracy. In ancient times, when digging the ground, a chief came upon a jewelled head-dress. The beginning of the year is calculated from the [first] rising of the moon, when the chief [formerly] put on this head-gear and wore his [ceremonial] dress to receive the congratulations [of the people]. Nowadays this custom is still continued. The natives and the Chinese dwell side by side. Most [of the natives] gather their hair into a chignon, and wear short cotton bajus girded about with black cotton sarongs.

Indigenous products include coarse lakawood and tin. The goods used in trade are red gold, blue satin, cotton prints, Ch'u [-chou-fu] porcelain, iron cauldrons and suchlike things. Neither fine products nor rare objects come from here. All are obtained from intercourse with Ch'üan-chou traders. When junks sail to the Western Ocean the local barbarians allow them to pass unmolested but when on their return the junks reach *Chi-li-men* (Karimon), [then] the sailors prepare their armour and padded screens as a protection against arrows for, of a certainty, some two or three hundred pirate prahus will put out to attack them for several days. Sometimes [the junks] are fortunate enough to escape with a favouring wind; otherwise the crews are butchered and the merchandise made off with in quick time.[1]

Mr. Warren D. Barnes and Dr. C. A. Gibson-Hill have shown that Dragon-teeth Strait was the present-day Keppel Harbour passage between the south coast of Singapore Island and Blakang Mati.[2] 'Dragon-teeth' (龍牙) was the name for the two vertical pegs at the bow of a junk through which was carried the anchor cable, and hence was a term applied by Chinese sailors to natural features such as twin peaks or, in the present instance, to prominent rocks weathered out from strong, jointed granite, which formerly overlooked the western entrance to Keppel Harbour (Fig. 15). One of these, known as Batu Bĕlayar, was demolished in 1848 during

[1] I am indebted to Mr. Ho Kuang-chung for assistance in the translation of this passage.

[2] *JSBRAS*, no. 60 (1911), pp. 25–34; *MRM*, no. 3 (1956), pp. 29–45.

the widening of the strait.[1] It follows therefore that the *Tan-ma-hsi (Temasek)* barbarians were the Orang Laut or coastal aborigines who were remarked on by most later travellers in this region.[2] The tantalizingly incomplete reference to a Chinese community is the first record of these people being resident in Malaya. Presumably they were a group of the Ch'üan-chou traders mentioned a few lines later. One further point is also worth mention. It seems likely that Wang Ta-yüan's tale of the jewelled head-dress may derive from the same tradition which inspired the story of the loss of Sri Tri Buana's crown in Keppel Harbour as related in the *Malay Annals*.[3]

8. PAN-TSU 班卒 [folio 14 verso]. Fort Canning Hill.

地勢連龍牙門後山若纏若斷起凹峰而盤結故民環居焉田瘠穀少登氣候不齊夏則多雨而微寒俗質披短髮緞錦纏頭紅油布繫身煑海爲鹽釀米爲酒名明家有酋長地產上等鶴頂中等降眞木棉花貿易之貨用綠布鐵條土印布赤金瓷器鐵鼎之屬

This locality is the hill behind *Lung-ya-men*. It resembles a truncated coil. It rises to a hollow summit, [surrounded by] interconnected terraces, so that the people's dwellings encircle it. The soil is poor and grain scarce. The climate is irregular, for there is heavy rain in summer, when it is rather cool. By custom and disposition [the people] are honest. They wear their hair short, with turbans of gold-brocaded satin, and red oiled-cloths [covering] their bodies. They boil sea-water to obtain salt and ferment rice to make spirits called *ming-chia*. They are under a chieftain. Indigenous products include very fine hornbill casques, lakawood of moderate quality and cotton. The goods used in trading are green cottons, lengths of iron, cotton prints of local manufacture, *ch'ih chin*,[4] porcelain-ware, iron pots and suchlike.

The hill behind *Lung-ya-men* or Keppel Harbour can only be the eminence which dominates Singapore City, namely Fort Canning Hill. The distinctive morphology described in the passage above is now destroyed or obscured by a century of building but was noticed by at least one writer in the early eighteen-twenties. Describing the ruins on the hill in 1822, John Crawfurd remarked,

[1] These two rocks were described as follows in John Thornton's *Oriental Navigation* (London, 1703): 'On the South-side of the *Straits* is a Bluff-Rock and smooth aloft, with Trees, and Grass, and on the North-side is a scragged Rock, shewing like a ruinated Wall. . . .' (p. 73).

[2] Gibson-Hill, *JMBRAS*, vol. xxv, pt. 1 (1952), pp. 161–74 and vol. xxvii, pt. 1 (1954), pp. 163–214; *MRM*, no. 3 (1956), p. 12, note 3.

[3] Brown, *JMBRAS*, vol. xxv, pts. 2 and 3 (1952), p. 30.

[4] Half-tael coins, already obsolescent when Wang Ta-yüan was writing (Rockhill, *TP*, vol. xvi, 1915, p. 133, note 2).

' . . . the most distinguished are those seated on a square terrace, of about forty feet to a side, near the summit of the hill.'[1] And a few lines later he speaks of, 'Another terrace, on the north declivity of the hill, nearly of the same size. . . .'

Archæological evidence of the ancient settlement on the site of modern Singapore was never abundant and has now been destroyed completely, but in the early years of the nineteenth century enough remained to attract the attention of two British administrators. Sir Stamford Raffles noted 'The lines of the old city and its defences',[2] while Crawfurd[3] described in some detail the remains still visible in 1822. On the terraces of the hill described above were brick and stone foundations while the natural defences of river, marsh and hill were supplemented at vulnerable points by rampart and ditch. Among the ruins Crawfurd noticed sherds of pottery—which he unfortunately neglected to particularize—and Chinese coins, which are valueless for dating. Finally, on a shingly point at the entrance to the river, was a monolith inscribed with Majapahit characters but in an unidentified language, and presumably dating from the fourteenth century.[4] Subsequently, in 1928, several gold ornaments of Majapahit workmanship from the mid-fourteenth century were dug up on Fort Canning Hill.[5]

Judging from the extent of the fortified area, this settlement was of considerable size but its relation with the sea gypsies of Keppel Harbour is not easily resolved. Living outside the enceinte of the town, the Straits pirates probably had little official connexion with

[1] *Journal of an embassy to Siam*, p. 46.

[2] A letter to William Marsden, dated 31 January, 1819 and quoted in Sophia, Lady Raffles, *Memoir of the life and public services of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, F.R.S., by his widow*, vol. i (London, 1830), p. 376. In another letter to Marsden dated 21 January, 1823, Raffles refers to 'The tombs of the Malay Kings' on the hill (*Memoir*, p. 535).

[3] *Journal*, pp. 44–7. Crawfurd's book is scarce so his description is reproduced as Appendix 5. It is only fair to say that not all the early visitors to the settlement possessed the discernment of Crawfurd. Cf. Capt. J.G.F. Crawford's remarks, for example, 'No remains of its [*Singapura*] former grandeur exist, not the slightest vestige of it has ever been discovered. As for the strength of the fortifications, no remains are to be seen excepting by those possessing a fertile imagination and can trace the foundations or parts of earthen bastions in a mound of earth that lines the beach and winds round the margin of the creek' (*Diary of Captain Crawford*, quoted in C. E. Wurtzburg, *Raffles of the Eastern Isles*, London, 1954, p. 486).

[4] Bland, *JASB*, vol. vi (1837), pp. 680–2 and Low, vol. xvii (1848), pp. 66–72; Rouffaer, *TBG*, vol. lxxvii (1921), pp. 35–67, 370–2, 404–6.

[5] Winstedt, *JMBRAS*, vol. vi (1928), pp. 1–4.

the religious and trading communities on the hill, although doubtless their prahus helped to form the fleet of *Singapura* mentioned in the *Sějarah Mělayu*.[1] It is also conceivable that not a little indirect profit may have found its way into the town from the buccaneering activities of the sea gypsies. Possibly the boom across the Singapore River[2] may have been a protection as much from these turbulent neighbours as from foreign raiders.

Although Wang Ta-yüan omits any references to political allegiances he does make it abundantly clear that, apart from *Temasek*, the economic life of the Peninsula was confined to the northern tracts. The isthmian kingdoms of *Tan-ma-ling* and *Lung-ya-hsi-chiao* still rated individual sections but *Teng-liu-mei* and *Chia-lo-hsi* were presumably too unimportant to be worth mention. Instead we notice an increasing definition of states on the east coast, where Pahang, Trĕngganu and Kĕlantan were each allotted a section in the *Tao-i Chih-lioh*.

The nature of the trade between China and the Peninsular states had not changed since the early thirteenth century but the range of commodities had widened considerably. Tin, tortoise-shell and hornbill casques now featured prominently among the exports while lakawood, usually of a coarse quality, was a staple from all countries except *Hsia-lai-wu*. Some of the products ranked high in their respective categories. *Tan-ma-ling*, for example, was a source of tin of outstanding quality, Kĕlantan for equally valuable gharuwood and *Pan-tsu* for fine hornbill casques. That cotton should have been produced in *Hsia-lai-wu* and *Pan-tsu* is most unlikely for more recent attempts to grow it in Penang and Singapore have proved unsuccessful.[3] Possibly cotton cloth is meant. Wang Ta-yüan also remarks upon a curious form of entrepôt trade engaged in by the Orang Laut of Keppel Harbour and its vicinity, who obtained their merchandise by raiding shipping passing through the straits.

The range of trade goods brought from China had also increased as the standard of living of the Peninsular states had risen consequent upon their more active participation in the commerce of the

[1] Brown, *JMBRAS*, vol. xxv (1952), p. 76.

[2] Brown, *JMBRAS*, vol. xxv, pp. 36, 39.

[3] A summary of these experiments is in Burkill, *A Dictionary of the Economic Products of the Malay Peninsula*, vol. i, pp. 1105–6.

Indian and Chinese seas. No less remarkable was an accompanying specialization in the markets. Although porcelain was a standard item of trade, there was a marked individuality in the requirements of individual countries. Whereas, for example, *Tan-ma-ling*, *Trĕngganu* and *Lung-ya-hsi-chiao* took the blue and white so familiar on archæological sites throughout the Peninsula, blue was more easily disposed of in *Hsia-lai-wu* and *Kĕlantan*. Textiles exemplify this regional specialization even more strikingly. Pongees sold easily enough in *Hsia-lai-wu*, Pahang and Trĕngganu, but blue satins were more acceptable to the sea gypsies of *Lung-ya-men*. Cottons were welcome in every port on the Peninsula but equally every market had its speciality: *kan-li* cottons for *Tan-ma-ling*, Annamese and Hainanese for *Hsia-lai-wu*, Javanese for Pahang, Annamese and *t'ang-t'ou* for Kĕlantan, prints for *Ling-ya-hsi-chiao*, *Lung-ya-men* and *Pan-tsu*, and so on.

In Wang Ta-yüan's account of 1349 we can discern more clearly that regional definition of the Peninsula which had its beginnings in the work of Chao Ju-kua over a century earlier. Hitherto, descriptions available to us have been couched in such general terms that the several units in the political pattern have been little more than names: it is Wang Ta-Yüan who first allows us to glimpse the economic individuality of each of the constituent states.

FOURTEENTH-CENTURY TRADE BETWEEN CHINA AND THE MALAY PENINSULA

			Tan-ma-ling	*Hsia-lai-wu*	*P'eng-k'eng*	*Chi-lan-tan*	*Ting-chia-lu*	*Lung-ya-hsi-chiao*	*Lung-ya-men*	*Pan-tsu*
Exports from the states of the Malay Peninsula	Bee's-wax 黃蠟		x				x			
	betel-nut 檳榔			x		x				
	camphor 腦子		x		x		x			
	cotton 棉花			x						x
	hornbill casques 鶴頂		x			x		x		x
	huang-shu-hsiang-t'ou 黃執香頭	Varieties of gharuwood	x		x			x		
	chen 沈				x	x		x		
	su 速				x	x				
	honey 蜜糖							x		
	lakawood 降眞香		x		x	x	x	x	x	x
	sapanwood 蘇木			x						
	ta-pai perfume 打白香				x					
	tin 花錫		x		x	x			x	
	tortoise shell 玳瑁			x			x			
	turtle carapaces 龜筒		x			x				
Imports into the states of the Malay Peninsula	red and green beads 紅綠煽珠					x				
	earthenware bowls 粗碗			x						
	iron and copper cauldrons 鐵銅鼎			x	x				x	x
	wooden combs 木梳篦子			x						
	kan-li 甘理	Cottons	x							
	red 紅		x	x						
	green 綠									x
	Chan-ch'eng 占城			x		x	x			
	Hainanese 海南			x						
	She-p'o 閣婆				x					
	t'ang-t'ou 塘頭					x				
	prints 花布印布							x	x	x
	unspecified 布							x		
	drums 鼓		x							
	gold 赤金								x	x
	lengths of iron 鐵條									x
	lacquer-ware 漆器				x					
	porcelain bowls 青白花碗		x	x		x	x	x	x	x
	pongees 絹			x	x		x			
	blue satin 青緞								x	
	spirits 酒						x			
	tin 花錫						x			
	iron wire 鐵線			x						

CHAPTER VIII

THE LEGACY OF THE THREE-JEWEL EUNUCH

It is one of the great ironies of history that the century which opened with the furthest westward exploration ever achieved by Chinese fleets should have witnessed at its close the tentative beginnings of European penetration into the Far East. Just when the Chinese had achieved direct communication with the 'distant barbarians' there came from even further westward a new race of aggressive foreigners who showed no inclination to pay tribute at the imperial court. The desire of this court for foreign luxuries such as precious stones, fragrant woods, spices and rare objects of all kinds, coupled with the need to re-establish the prestige of the Chinese Empire abroad, led the Yung-lo Emperor, third of the Ming dynasty, to dispatch a series of naval expeditions to the Indian Ocean. Between 1403 and 1433 at least seven of these expeditions sailed, not counting minor ones.[1] Some of these fleets, comprising no less than sixty-two vessels and carrying 37,000 soldiers, reached as far west as Mecca, Aden, Mogadishu and Juba. All were under the direction of a Court eunuch named Cheng-Ho, a Muslim, popularly known as San-pao T'ai-chien 三寶太監 or the Three-Jewel Eunuch.

The official reports of these voyages were subsequently destroyed by the War Office, an incident arising from the rivalry between the powerful eunuch employees of the Emperor and the official classes.[2] So completely was the knowledge acquired by Cheng-Ho and his colleagues suppressed that even the accounts in the Veritable Records of the Ming Dynasty and, therefore, those in the *Ming-Shih*, are sometimes erroneous. There are fortunately a number of other documents from which a succession of scholars, and notably Professor Duyvendak, have been able to piece together the history of these voyages.

[1] The expeditions took place in 1405–7, 1407–9, 1409–11, 1413–15, 1417–19, 1421–2, 1431–3.

[2] This fascinating tale of intrigue is told by Professor J. J. L. Duyvendak, in *TP*, tome xxxiv (1938), pp. 395–8.

The circumstances attending this exploration of the West by Chinese fleets is set out on a stone erected by Cheng-Ho in the temple of the Celestial Spouse 天妃 at Ch'ang-lo 'on a lucky day in the second winter-moon of the cyclical year hsin-hai, the sixth year of Hsüan-te' (5 December, 1431 to 2 January, 1432).[1] The first part of this tablet reads as follows:

In the unification of seas and continents the imperial Ming Dynasty has surpassed the three dynasties and even excels the Han and T'ang. The countries beyond the horizon and from the ends of the earth have all become subjects, and distances and routes can be calculated to the uttermost parts of the west and the farthest bounds of the north, however distant they may be. Thus the barbarians from beyond the seas, though their countries are exceeding far off, with double translation[2] have come to audience, bearing precious objects and presents.

The Emperor, approving of their loyalty and sincerity, has ordered us [Cheng-Ho] and others, at the head of several tens of thousands of officers and flag-troops, to embark on more than a hundred large ships, and to go to confer presents [on the barbarians] in order to manifest the transforming power of the [imperial] virtue[3] and to treat these distant people with kindness. From the third year of Yung-lo (1405) until now we have on seven occasions been commissioned as ambassadors to the countries of the Western Ocean. The barbarian countries which we have visited are: by way of *Chan-ch'eng (Campā) Chao-wa* (Java), *San-fo-ch'i* (Jambi) in Sumatra and *Hsien-lo* (Siam), crossing straight over to *Hsi-lan-shan* (Ceylon) in South India, *Ku-li* (Calicut) and *K'o-chih* (Cochin), we have gone to the western regions, *Hu-lu-mo-ssŭ* (Hormuz), *A-tan* (Aden), *Mu-ku-tu-shu* (Mogadishu), altogether more than thirty countries large and small. We have traversed more than 100,000 *li* of the immense ocean and have beheld on the main huge waves rising mountain-like to the sky; we have seen barbarian regions far away hidden in a blue transparency of light vapours, while by day and night our lofty sails, unfurled like clouds, continued their star-like course, traversing the savage waves as if they were a public thoroughfare. . . .[4]

The chief sources for descriptions of the countries visited on these voyages are accounts by Ma-Huan 馬歡, a Muslim interpreter who accompanied the fourth and later expeditions, and by Fei-Hsin 費信 one of the junior officers. The unusually complicated bibliography and chronology of these two works has been elucidated by Professors Duyvendak and Pelliot,[5] so that we can now say with confidence that Fei-Hsin's work, entitled *Hsing-ch'a Sheng-lan* 星槎勝覽 *(Description of the Starry Raft[6])*, was compiled in 1436

[1] This inscription was first published by Chin Yün-ming 金雲銘, *FCWH*, vol. xxvi (1937), pp. 1–48.

[2] 重譯, an expression implying extreme remoteness.

[3] 以宣德化, a precious attempt to incorporate the reign-title Hsuan-te in the text.

[4] Based on the translation of Duyvendak, *TP*, tome xxxiv (1938) pp. 349–50, somewhat amended from the text on plate opposite p. 350.

[5] Duyvendak, *VKAWA/AL*, nieuwe reeks, deel xxxii, no. 3 (1933), p. 74; Pelliot, *TP*, tome xxx (1933), pp. 237–452.

[6] i.e., a ship carrying an imperial ambassador.

and Ma-Huan's *Ying-yai Sheng-lan* 瀛涯勝覽 *(Description of the Coasts of the Ocean)* in 1451. There is also a considerable amount of useful material in the *Hsi-yang Fan-kuo Chih* 西洋番國志 (*Record of the Western Barbarians*, 1434) of *Kung-Chen* 鞏珍 who accompanied the expedition of 1431–3 as a secretary, and in the *Hsi-yang Chao-kung Tien-lu* 西洋朝貢典錄 *(Record of the Tributary Nations of the West)*, written by the scholar Huang Sheng-ts'eng 黃省曾 in 1520. The few passages in these works bearing on the geography of the Malay Peninsula are assembled in translation either below or in the appropriate sections of this work.

Hsing-ch'a Sheng-lan, chapter 2, folio 2 recto et verso: *P'eng-k'eng* 彭坑 (Pahang).[1]

This place is to the west of *Hsien-lo* (Siam). It is encircled by rocky cliffs, rugged and precipitous. From afar the mountains appear like a level rampart. The soil is fertile and grain adequate. The climate is warm. The people are addicted to magic. They cut slips of aromatic wood with which to bring about peoples' deaths, sacrifice with human blood and pray for good fortune to avert calamity. Both men and women tie their hair in a knot and wrap round them a skirt. The women of wealthy families wear four or five gold rings on the tops of their heads, but the common people wear rings of coloured beads. They boil sea-water to obtain salt and ferment syrup (漿) to make spirits. The products are *huang-shou* and *shen* [varieties of] gharuwood, flake camphor, tin (花錫) and lakawood. The goods used [in trading] are gold, silver, coloured silk, *Chao-wa* (Javanese) cottons, ironware and musical instruments.

In the *Ming-shih*[2] there is also a long account of *P'eng-heng* 彭亨, which apparently sent envoys to the imperial court in 1378, 1411, 1414 and 1416, bearing tribute of elephant tusks, Barus camphor, olibanum, lignum aloes, sandalwood, pepper and sapanwood. In 1413 Cheng-Ho visited the country, and noted that rice was abundant.

Hsing-ch'a Sheng-lan, chapter 2, folio 3 verso: *Chiu Chou* 九州 (The Nine Islands=Pulau Sĕmbilan).

These islands are near *Man-la-chia* 滿剌加 (Malacca). Their products are *ch'en* and *huang-shou* [varieties of] gharuwood. The trees grow close together, the branches covered with a dark green foliage. In the seventh year of Yung-lo (A.D. 1409) Cheng-Ho sent soldiers on to the islands to gather aromatic woods. They obtained six trunks of from eight to nine feet in diameter and from sixty to seventy feet long. The scent was strong and the wood had fine black markings.

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[1] This and the two following translations are mainly after Rockhill, *TP*, tome xvi (1915), pp. 120–1.

[2] Chap. 325, f. 9 recto.

Hsing-ch'a Sheng-lan, chapter 2, folio 3 recto: *Lung-ya-men* 龍牙門 (Keppel Harbour: see page 102 below).

This place is to the north-west of *San-fo-ch'i (Śrī Vijaya)*. There is here a passage-way between hills which face each other and look like 'dragons' teeth'. Through this ships must pass. The soil is barren, the crops very poor. The climate is constantly hot, with heavy rains in the fourth and fifth moons. Men and women tie their hair in a knot. They wear short bajus and wrap sarongs around them. They are very daring pirates. If a foreign ship happens to pass that way they attack it in hundreds of little boats. If wind and fortune are favourable [the ship] may escape; otherwise [the pirates] will plunder the ship and put both passagers and crew to death.

In the *Ying-yai Sheng-lan* and the *Hsing-ch'a Sheng-lan* are also the earliest extant accounts of Malacca, supplemented by descriptions of a somewhat later date in the *Hai-yu*[1] (1537) and the *Ming-shih*. This information is discussed below in Chapter XX.

These fragments of information provide no more than a glimpse of conditions on the Malay Peninsula during the early years of the fifteenth century, but the most valuable legacy left by Cheng-Ho and his associates is yet to be disclosed. It is a series of combined charts and sailing directions included in a work entitled *Wu-pei-chih* 武備志 *(Notes on Military Preparation)*, the preface to which is dated 1621, but which was not offered to the throne until 1628, so we can be sure it was not printed until after that date. The author was Mao Yüan-i 茅元儀, grandson of a certain Mao-K'un 茅坤 who lived from 1511–1601 and collaborated with Hu Tsung-hsien 胡宗憲 an expert on coast defence. These circumstances induced the late Professor Duyvendak to ' . . . regard it as probable that the map which Mao Yüan-yi published in his work, formed part of the geographical material, that was collected by Hu Tsung-hsien's circle and may have been deposited in his archives, when he was governor of Fukien'.[2] The introductory note to the maps does, indeed, begin: 'Master Mao says' 茅子曰,[3] and as Mao Yüan-i would certainly not have so referred to himself, he could only have been quoting his grandfather. The material on which the *Wu-pei-chih* charts are based must therefore be held to date from at least the second or third quarter of the sixteenth century, but there is reason to believe that much of the information derives from a still earlier period. The introductory note to the

[1] A short description by Huang-Chung 黃哀 of a number of countries which had commercial relations with China.

[2] Duyvendak, *Ma Huan re-examined*, p. 20.

[3] *Wu-pei-chih*, chap. 240, f. 1 recto.

maps, after mentioning Cheng-Ho, concludes with the following sentence:[1] 'His maps record carefully and correctly the distances of the road and the various countries and I have inserted them for the information of posterity and as a momento of [his] military achievements' 其圖列道里國土, 詳而不誣載以昭來世, 志武功也. In the light of these remarks there can be little doubt but that the *Wu-pei-chih* charts trace the route of Cheng-Ho's expeditions, a pedigree confirmed by certain statements contained in a manuscript in the Bodleian library. The manuscript, marked *Laud Or. 145*, which was first noticed by Messrs. Hsiang-Ta and E. R. Hughes and commented on by Professor Duyvendak[2] (from whom the following notes are taken), is still unpublished and unedited. There is no title, but the four characters 順風相送 'to be escorted by favourable winds', are inscribed on the title-page. The body of the manuscript is a collection of sailing directions extending from China as far west as Arabia. The unsigned and undated introductory note includes the following paragraphs:

其古本年朱破壞, 有無難以比對, 後人若抄寫從眞本惟恐悞事. 予因暇日將更籌比對稽考通行較日於天朝南京直隸至太倉幷夷邦巫里洋等處更數針路山形水勢灣嶼淺深攢寫於後以此傳好遊者云爾.

These old copies [of voyages] become more worn every year so that it is difficult to discover the truth of the matter from them, and I fear that if later people make copies from the originals they will fall into error. In my leisure time I have compared the calculated watches for every day, investigated the respective [number of] days for [each] complete voyage, and collected and written down the number of watches, the direction of the compass-needle, the form of the mountains and the condition of the water, whether there are bays and islands, shallows and deeps, for all the places from the directly governed Southern Capital (Nanking) of the Heavenly Dynasty to T'ai-ts'ang and the Malay Ocean of the barbarian countries . . .

永樂元年奉差前往西洋等國開詔. 累次較正針路牽星畫樣海嶼水勢形畫畫一本.

. . . In the first year of Yung-lo (1403) a commission was received to proceed to the countries of the Western Ocean in order to make known the Imperial Commands. On repeated voyages were compared and corrected charts of the direction of the compass-needle and the guiding stars and a copy of a drawing of the configuration of the islands in the sea and the condition of the water.

Clearly in MS. *Laud Or. 145* we have a sailing directory compiled from the collated logs of Cheng-Ho's several voyages, while the 'drawing of the configuration of the islands in the sea' and 'the form

[1] *Wu-pei-chih*, chap. 240, f. 1 verso.

[2] Duyvendak, *TP*, tome xxxiv (1938), pp. 230–33.

of the mountains and the condition of the water, whether there are bays and islands, shallows and deeps' is an exact description of the *Wu-pei-chih* charts. Moreover, immediately following the marine charts are four astronomical charts called *ch'ien-hsing-t'u* 牽星圖,[1] a phrase used by the compiler of the manuscript directions. I have not had the opportunity of comparing the directions and distances of the manuscript with those of the *Wu-pei-chih*, but it would seem extremely probable that MS. *Laud Or. 145* is one of the class of compass directories or *chen-wei*[*-pien*] 鍼位[編] mentioned by Huang Sheng-ts'eng in the preface to his *Hsi-yang Chao-kung Tien-lu*: 余乃摭拾譯人之言若星搓瀛涯鍼位諸編一約之[2] 'I collated and condensed the statements of interpreters from such works as the *Hsing-ch'a*[*Sheng-lan*], the *Ying-yai*[*Sheng-lan*] and compass directions.' Apparently these last persisted in manuscript and were in common use by mariners even though War Office bureaucrats had destroyed the official records of Cheng-Ho's voyages.

The charts occupy folios 2 verso–22 recto of chapter 240 of the *Wu-pei-chih*, with the Malayan section on folios 14 verso–17 recto. Unlike European charts and sailing directions which are usually published separately, the *Wu-pei-chih* combines both functions on one sheet of paper. The chart itself takes the form of a cartogram in which the coast is depicted as a continuous, irregular line running from left to right. This is an ancient device adopted in this instance to enable several divergent routes to be compressed within a frame of manageable dimensions. It was employed by the author of the Peutinger Table[3] in the second half of the fourth century, and has been in regular use on route-maps from that date to the present. On the *Wu-pei-chih* charts estuaries are represented by deep V-shaped indentations, and coastal hills are depicted semi-diagrammatically. Off-shore islands are usually shown in plan, sometimes in crude elevation. The scale varies from place to place to suit the convenience of the cartographer. The average for the east coast of the Peninsula, for example, is approximately 40 miles to the inch, for the west 30 miles to the inch, but in the dangerous waters off Singapore, where a rash of islands and shoals had to be clearly marked, the anonymous cartographer enlarged the scale to 12 miles to the inch.

[1] Chap. 240, ff. 22 verso–24 recto.

[2] Preface, f. 2 recto.

[3] p. 134 below.

The names attached to the Malay Peninsula and neighbouring islands have been ably identified by Mr. J. V. Mills,[1] who has also demonstrated that the normal medium of transliteration for foreign names was the Amoy dialect. He distinguishes three classes of place-names:

(1) purely Chinese names, usually descriptive of natural features and applied presumably by Chinese sailors, e.g., *Chiang-chün-mao* 將軍帽 (=General's Hat Island) for Pulau Tinggi;

(2) translations of Malay names, e.g., possibly *Chiu-chou* 九州 (=The Nine Islands) for Pulau Sĕmbilan (though this may be a simple descriptive name applied by the Chinese independently).

(3) transcriptions of Malay names, e.g., *P'i-sung* Island 毘宋嶼 for Pulau Pisang. Not infrequently such transcriptions are modified for the sake of assonance or to rationalize the meaning. Pahang, for instance, is transcribed as *P'eng-* [not *P'ang*] *-heng* 彭杭, while Langkawi appears as *Lung-ya-chiao-i* 龍牙交椅 (=Dragon-tooth armchair).

The Chinese versions of the place-names on the Malay Peninsula with their modern equivalents mainly as identified by Mills, are listed below in order beginning from the north-west. The graphs are noted first, together with an Amoy Hokkien version wherever there is the likelihood of transcription, followed by the *kuo yü* version (in parenthesis) and the identification.

荅那思里	*Ta-na-su-li (Ta-na-ssŭ-li)* Tenasserim.
擉掛頭山	*Tok-kua-tao-san (Tu-kua-t'ou-shan)* Takua headland, possibly Lem Voalan.
古力由不洞	*Ku-lat-iu-put-tang (Ku-li-yü-pu-tung)* Pulau Butang.
龍牙交椅	*Leng-ge-kau-i (Lung-ya-chiao-i)* Langkawi. There is almost certainly some process of rationalization of meaning underlying this transcription.
吉達港	*Kiet-tat-kang (Chi-ta-chiang)* Kĕdah estuary.
檳榔嶼	*Pin-ng-su (Pin-lang-hsü)* Penang.
陳公嶼	*Tan-kong-su (Ch'en-kung-hsü)* Pulau Jarak.
九州	*(Chiu-chou)* Pulau Sĕmbilan. Mills, working from Phillips's tracing of the charts as reproduced in the *Wu-pei-pi-shu* 武備秘書, reads 九州小 *Chiu-chou-hsiao*, but it is clear from the *Wu-pei-chih* itself that the *hsiao* 小 is not a character, but simply three stylized strokes in the elementary perspective of the chart.
吉那大山	*Kiet-na-tai-san (Chi-na-ta-shan)* False Parcelar.

[1] *JMBRAS*, vol. xv, pt. 3 (1937), pp. 1–48.

吉令港 *Kiet-leng-kang (Chi-ling-chiang)* Klang River.

雞骨嶼 *Koe-kut-su (Chi-ku-hsü)* Aroa Islands.

綿花淺 *(Mien-hua-ch'ien)* Cotton Shoals=South Sands.

綿花嶼 *(Mien-hua-hsü)* Parcelar Hill=Bukit Jugra.

假五嶼 *(Chia-wu-hsü)* False Five Islands=Cape Rachado. The position of this feature on the coast would lead us to seek it in the vicinity of Cape Rachado, an identification confirmed by the appearance of the headland from seaward (Fig. 16 [4]). The *Ying-yai-sheng-lan* tells us that the district of Malacca was formerly named the Five Islands after the islets off the coast, and there can be no doubt that the name False Five Islands derives from the experiences of mariners Malacca-bound who raised their landfall too early.

滿剌加 *Ma-la-ka (Man-la-chia)* Malacca.

官廠 *(kuan-ch'ang)* official building. As Mills suggests, probably the office of the shahbandar or port officer.

射箭山 *Sia-chi-san (She-ch'ien-shan)* Gunong Banang, the Tanjong Sizan of Horsburgh, *The India Directory*, (London, 1843) page 258 and *Chart of Strait of Malacca*, sheet 1st, by the same author (with additions to 1856 from surveys by J. T. Thompson and Capt. Ward). The misplacement of the hill in relation to the Batu Pahat River is attributed by Mills to the fact that the estuary is invisible from a distance of more than six miles to seaward.

毘宋嶼 *Pi-sang-su (P'i-sung-hsü)* Pulau Pisang.

平州 *(P'ing-chou)* The Identical Islands=The Brothers.

吉利門 *Kiet-li-mng (Chi-li-men)* Karimun.

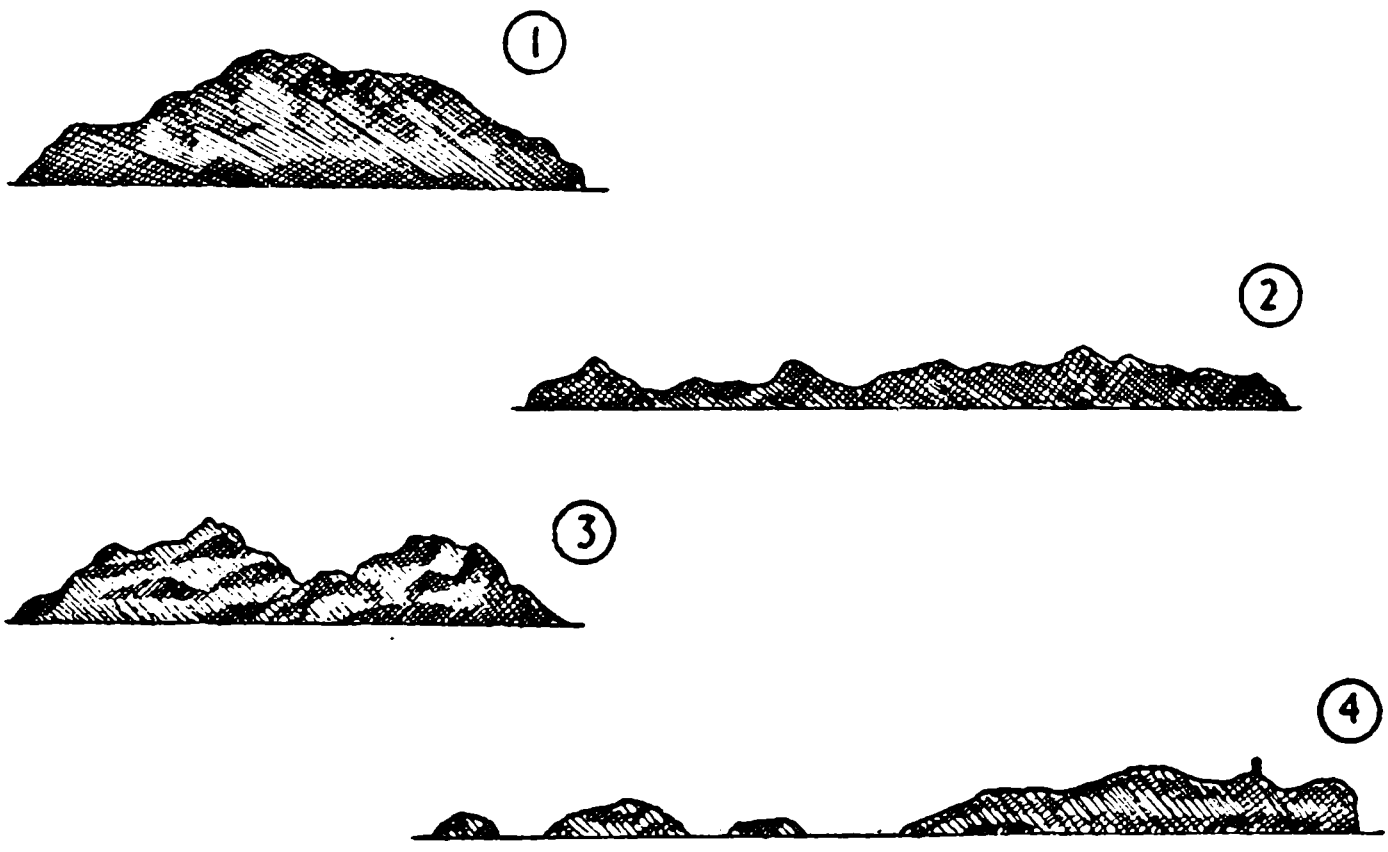


Fig. 16. Cape Rachado. (1) NE by N. 3 leagues in 20 fathoms. (2) 'When you bring Cape Rachado to the Nard of the Land then begins to make in hills thus.' (3) ESE. 7 leagues. Redrawn from A Chart of the Straits of Malacca and Singapore *by Thomas Jefferys (London, 1794). (4) Bearing 113°, distant 23 miles. Redrawn from* Malacca Strait Pilot, *facing p. 164. For a note on Jefferys see caption to Fig. 17.*

沙糖淺 *Sua-t'ung-chien (Sha-t'ang-ch'ien)* Granulated-sugar Shoals = Helen Mar Reef.

長腰嶼 *(Ch'ang-yao-hsü)* Long-waist Island = Blakang Mati.

涼傘嶼 *(Liang-san-hsü)* Parasol Island = modern Pulau Labon, which is still known to the Chinese under its earlier form.

牛屎礁 *(Niu-shih-chiao)* Buffalo Dung Rock = Batu Kĕrbau (also called Batu Hitam). The Malay name means 'Buffalo Rock'. It is still called Buffalo Dung Rock by Chinese sailors.

琶撓嶼 *(P'a-nao-hsü)* Twisted Lute Island. Unidentified.

琵琶嶼 *(P'i-p'a-hsü)* Guitar Island = Pulau Brani.

淡馬錫 *Tam-ma-sek (T"an-ma-hsi)* Temasek.

馬鞍山 *(Ma-an-shan)* Horse-saddle Mountain = Tanjong Burong, still called Horse-saddle Hill by local Chinese.

官嶼 *(Kuan-hsü)* Official Island = Pĕnggĕrang.

荅那溪嶼 *(Ta-na-ch'i-hsü)* ? Barbukit.

白礁 *(Pai-chiao)* White Rock = Pedra Branca (= modern Horsburgh Light).

將軍帽 *(Chiang-chün-mao)* General's Hat Island = Pulau Tinggi. This cone-shaped island is still known by this name, and Mills quotes a Malay pantun beginning 'Pulau Tinggi, tĕrĕndak China' (Pulau Tinggi, Chinese cone-hat).

西竹山 *(Hsi-chu-shan)* West Bamboo Mountain = } The twin peaks
東竹山 *(Tung-chu-shan)* East Bamboo Mountain = } of Pulau Aur.

苧麻山 *Chang-chew* [Cantonese *Tu-ma*]-*san (Ch'u-ma-shan)* Pulau Tioman.

石礁 *(Shih-chiao)* Stoney Rock = Pulau Siribuat.

彭杭港 *Phe-hang-kong (P'eng-hang-chiang)* Pahang estuary.

斗嶼 *(Tou-hsü)* Peck Island = ? Pulau Tĕnggol.

丁加下路 surely a scribal error for

丁架路 *Teng-ka-lo (Ting-chia-lu)* Trĕngganu. Cp. the *Ting-chia-lu* 丁家廬 of the *Tao-i-chih-lioh*, f. 7 recto. Errors of this nature were easily induced by the vertical arrangement of the characters on the chart.

土員嶼 *Tho-oan-su (T'u-yüan-hsü)* Pulau Bidong Laut (also known as Little Rĕdang).

石山 *(Shih-shan)* Stone Mountain = ? Pulau Lantinga.

昆下池 *K'un-ha-ti (K'un-hsia-ch'ih)* ? Pulau Rhu.

角員 *Kak-oan (Chiao-yüan)* ? Great Rĕdang.

Fig. 17. Gunong Banang: ENE. northerly off the deck in 21 fathoms. Redrawn from A Chart of the Straits of Malacca and Singapore *by Thomas Jefferys (London, 1794). Jefferys, who died in 1771, must have engraved this plate between 1766 and 1770, but Dr. C. A. Gibson-Hill believes that much of the information is relevant to a still earlier period (*MRM., *No. 3, 1956, p. 70).*

羊嶼 *(Yang-hsü)* Goat Island = ? Pulau Pĕrhentian.

三角嶼 *San-kak-su (San-chiao-hsü)* ? Pulau Pĕrhentian Kĕchil.

烟墩嶼 *(Yen-tun-hsü)* Beacon Island = ? Pulau Susu Darah.

古蘭丹巷 *Ko-lan-tan-kong (Ku-lan-tan-chiang)* Kĕlantan estuary.

西巷 *Sai-kong (Hsi-chiang)* Tĕlubin estuary, formerly known as the *Sai* River. See, for example, the Harley map, c. 1542 *(cay)*; Diego Homem's MS. chart of southern and eastern Asia, 1558 *(R. Seiia)*; Gastaldi's *Il disegno della terza parte dell'Asia*, 1561; Mercator's *Nova et aucta orbis terrae descriptio*, 1569; Ortelius's *Indiae orientalis, insularumque adjacentium typus*, 1570; Plancius's *Nova et exacta terrarum orbis tabula geographica ac hydrographica*, 1592 and numerous others, all with *cui)*; Eredia's map of the Malay Peninsula, 1613, *(sea Rio)*; and Berthelot's maps of 1635 *(Sey)*.

狼西加 *Long-sai-ka (Lang-hsi-chia)* Langkasuka (see Chapter XVI).

貓鼠嶼 *(Mao-shu-hsü)* Cat and Rat island = Pulau Kuching (= Cat Island) and Pulau Tikus (= Rat Island). These islands are known to the Siamese as Koh Mu and Koh Gnu respectively.

孫姑那 *Sng-ku-na (Sun-ku-na)* Singora, known to the Siamese as Songkla.

衆不淺 *Cheng-put-chhien (Chung-pu-ch'ien)* presumably the shoal water off Bandon Bight.

玳瑁嶼 *Tai-mo-su (Tai-mei-hsü)* Tortoise-shell Island.

海門山 *Hai-bun-san (Hai-men-shan)* Straits Mountain.

石班洲 *Sek-pan-chiu (Shih-pan-chou)* Grouper Island.

佛山 *Hut-san (Fo-shan)* Mountain of the Buddha.

馬鞍山 *Ma-an-san (Ma-an-shan)* Horse-saddle Mountain.

赤坎 *Chhek Kham (Ch'ih-k'an)* Red Vase.

Mills takes these six islands to be Ko Samui, Ko Pennan, Ko Tau and three smaller islands of the same group.

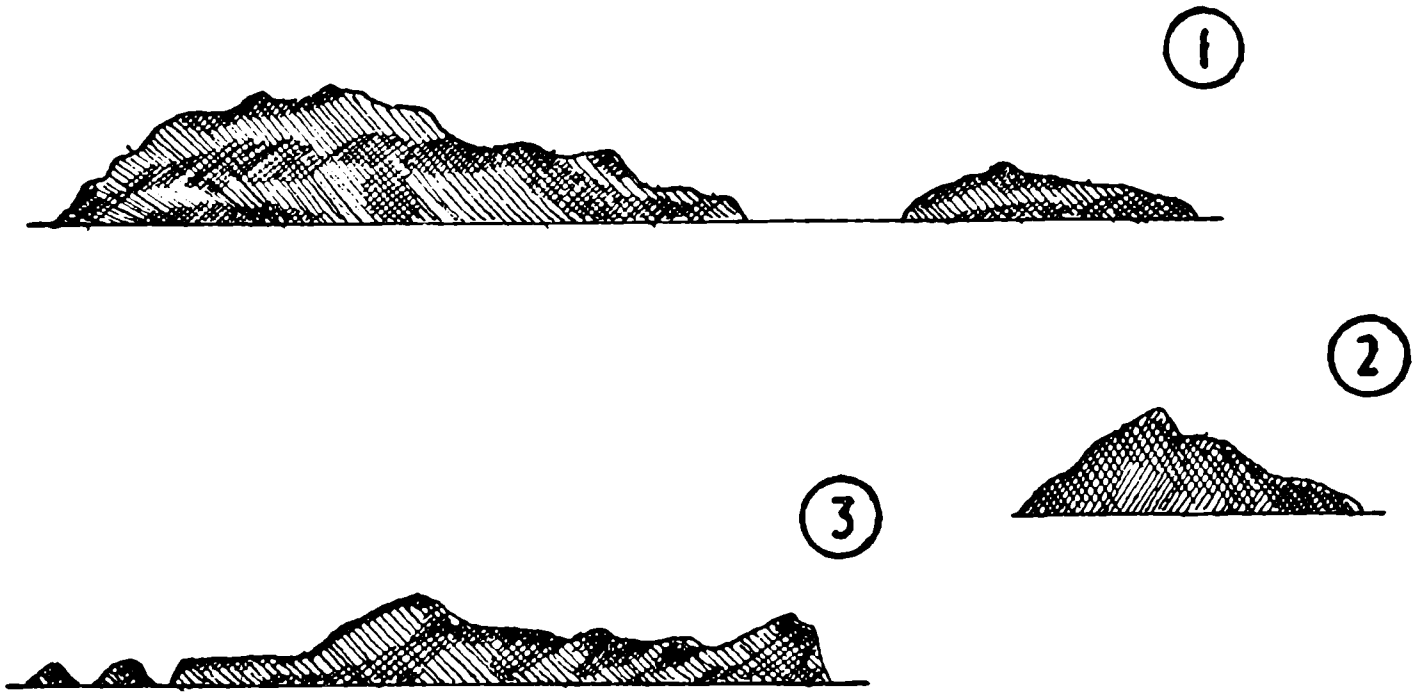


Fig. 18. Pulau Pisang. (1) SSE. 9 leagues. (2) ESE. 5. leagues. (3) E by S. Redrawn from A chart of the Straits of Malacca and Singapore *by Thomas Jefferys (London, 1794). For a note on Jefferys see caption to Fig. 17.*

筆架山 *Pit-ke-san (Pi-chia-shan)* ? Triple Peak.
犁頭山 *Loe-thau-san (Li-t'ou-shan)* possibly Chulai Peak.
犀角山 *Sai-kak-san (Hsi-chiao-shan)* Rhinoceros-horn Mountain.

In addition to these place-names the chart has three legends dealing with local produce. Between the Kělantan and Tělubin Rivers appear the characters 出降香 *ch'u chiang-hsiang*, and between the Tělubin and Patani Rivers 出降眞 *ch'u chiang-chen*. Both these phrases refer to lakawood, which Chao Ju-kua designates as 降眞香 *chiang-chen hsiang*.[1] The *Tung-hsi-yang-k'ao* (chapter 3, folio 3 recto) confirms that this commodity, which it calls 降香 *chiang-hsiang*, was a product of Patani 大泥. Finally, just south of Rhinoceros-horn Mountain is inscribed the note 出蘇木 *Ch'u su-mu* (=produces sapanwood).

On these charts the recommended tracks for vessels sailing in the waters of the Malay Archipelago and the Indian Ocean are represented by more or less sub-parallel pecked lines. Beside some of these tracks, which we may suppose to indicate the main sea-thoroughfares between China and the Middle East, are inscribed sailing directions, including courses and times. These are usually given for only one direction, but occasionally for both outward and homeward voyages. They are also more detailed in Chinese home waters. The usual formula is: 'Setting a course of $x°$, after y watches, the ship makes z'. A watch 更 is 2·4 hours, so it would be a simple matter to plot the prescribed routes but for the hitherto obscure manner of defining the courses. In about a third of the instances these are denoted by one character, but elsewhere by two characters. The second of these is always one of the cyclical characters denoting compass points, the first either *tan* 丹 or a second cyclical character. For example, on folio 15 verso we read: '[from Chicken-Bone Island] following a course of *tan ch'en* and then of *ch'en i* . . .' 用丹辰及辰乙針, while again on the same folio occurs the phrase 'following a course of *i ch'en* and then of *tan ch'en* . . .' 用乙辰及丹辰 . . . Mr. J. V. Mills,[2] with the implicit concordance of Professor Duyvendak,[3] translated 丹 as 'exactly', for which there is no warrant. For courses denoted by

[1] *Chu-fan-chih*, part 2, p. 33.
[2] *JMBRAS*, vol. xv, pt. 3 (1937), p. 8.
[3] *TP*, vol. xxxiv (1938), pp. 233–7.

dual cyclical characters Mills proposed three possible solutions. The least likely interpretation envisaged a course somewhere between the two compass points. Thus, in the first of the examples above, the navigator would set a course anywhere between 乙 105° and 辰 120°. This is at all times an unsatisfactory method of navigation, but on the open ocean would lead to fantastic landfalls. Mills himself, following George Phillips,[1] read dual character directions as indicating an initial course of—in the above example —辰 120° and then 乙 105°. This interpretation has a certain plausibility, for it was long the practice of mariners, particularly before they had involved a method of determining longitude, to sail by a specific latitude and alter course on raising land. But the second course could then neither be predicted nor prescribed; it depended on the winds and currents experienced by the ship in the early stages of the voyage. Mills seems to have read the text as a ship's log rather than as sailing directions. The inadequacy of this explanation is best seen on the ocean sections of the chart. Finally, Mills mentions a third method of reading these dual character courses, which has subsequently been adopted by Professor Hsü Yun-ts'iao,[2] namely to plot a course midway between them. A course of *ch'en sun* would then lie midway between 120° and 135°, that is, 127½°.

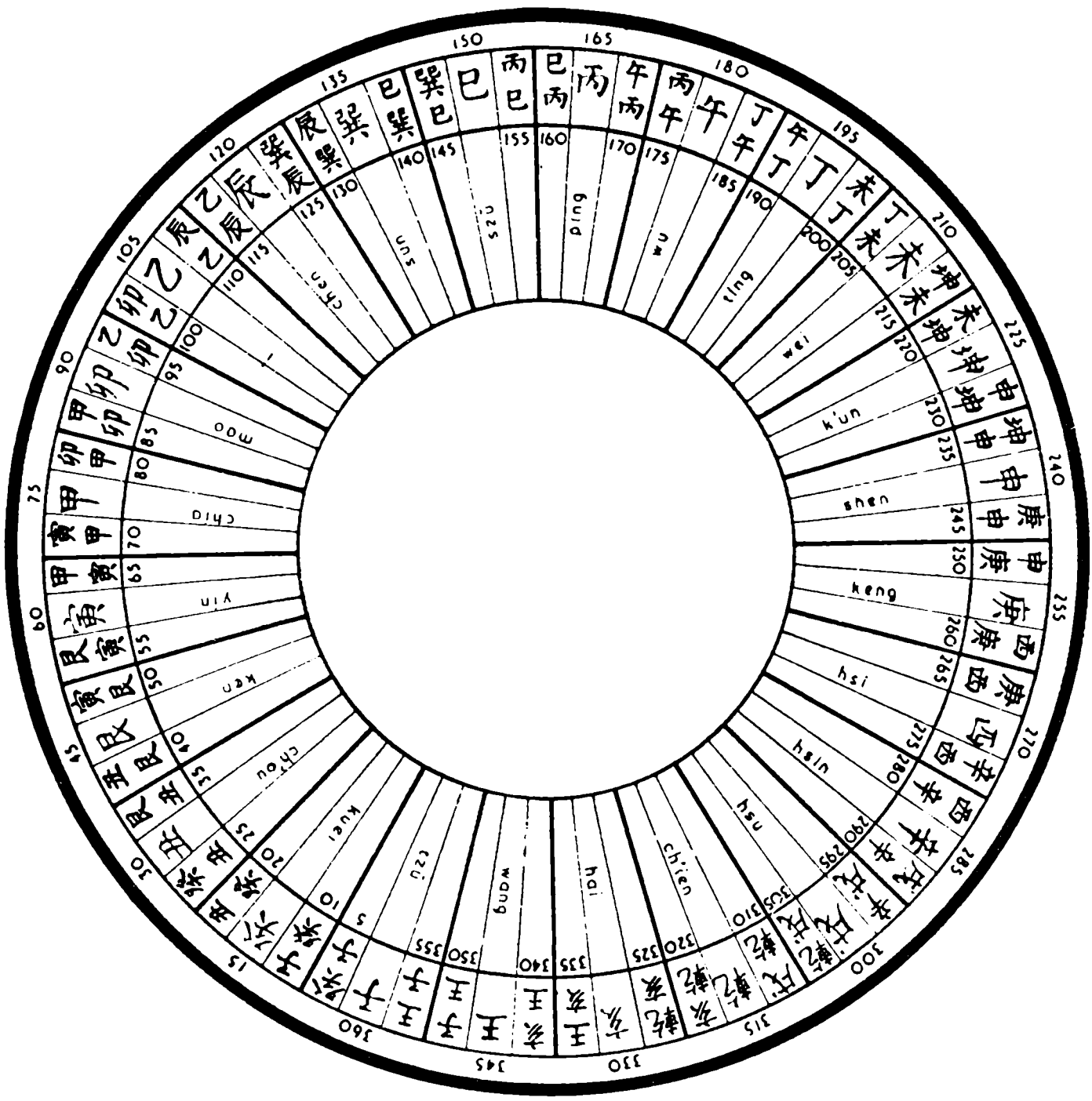
One need not be a sailor to realize the inadequacy of these explanations, and for long the problem remained obscure. But in 1944 a marine navigation officer, W. Z. Mulder, supplied what appears to be a partial solution.[3] From an analysis of all the courses on the charts, he was able to reconstruct the essentials of the compass-card used in Cheng-Ho's time. It was divided into twenty-four 'points', each of 15°. Each of these 'points' was in turn subdivided into three sectors, each of 5°. Either the whole of the centre sector of each 'point' was coloured red or possibly the character denoting it was written in red, while the two outer sections were defined in relation to the 'points' immediately adjacent. Figure 19 is a reconstruction of such a compass-card on the principles elucidated by Mulder. *Chia mao* 甲卯, then, means the

[1] *JNChBRAS*, vol. xx (1885), pp. 209–26 and vol. xxi (1886), pp. 30–42.

[2] *JSSS*, vol. v, pt. 2, no. 10 (1948), p. 10.

[3] *TP.*, vol. xxxvii (1944), pp. 1–14. This valuable article does not feature in the table of contents of vol. xxxvii.

5° of *mao* bordering *chia*, while *i mao* 乙卯 means the 5° of *mao* bordering *i*. *Tan mao* 丹卯 was the central 5°-sector of the *mao* 'point'. The *tan* (=red) was, of course, not written on the card. It is now apparent that fifteenth-century Chinese mariners sailed their courses to within 5°, a much more reasonable figure than the 15° of Mills's interpretation. There remains however a residue of four-character courses which can only be understood as indicating a change of direction at some unspecified point. Presumably this method was employed—as it still is by coastal voyagers—when there was some clearly discernible obstacle to be rounded; or more probably perhaps, the four-character courses may represent nothing more than careless copying.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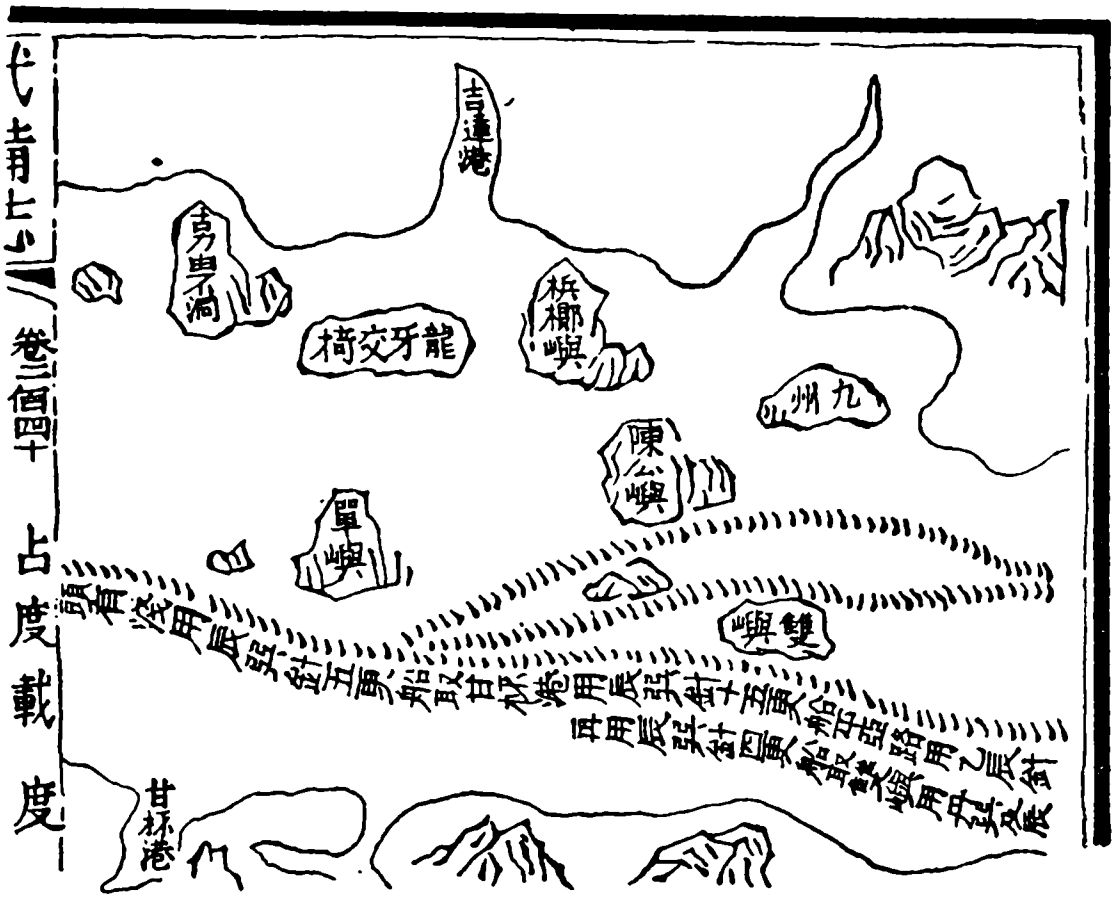


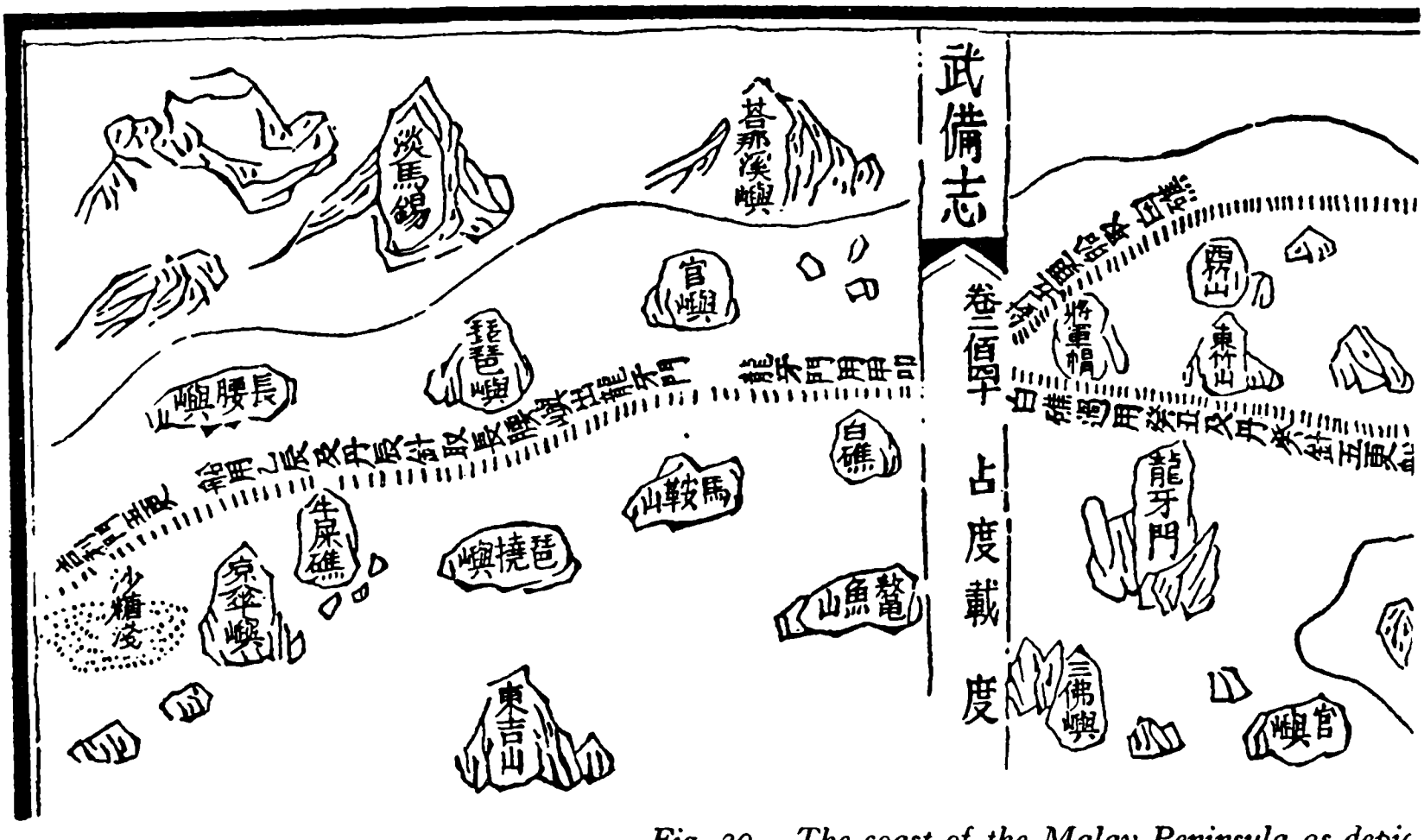
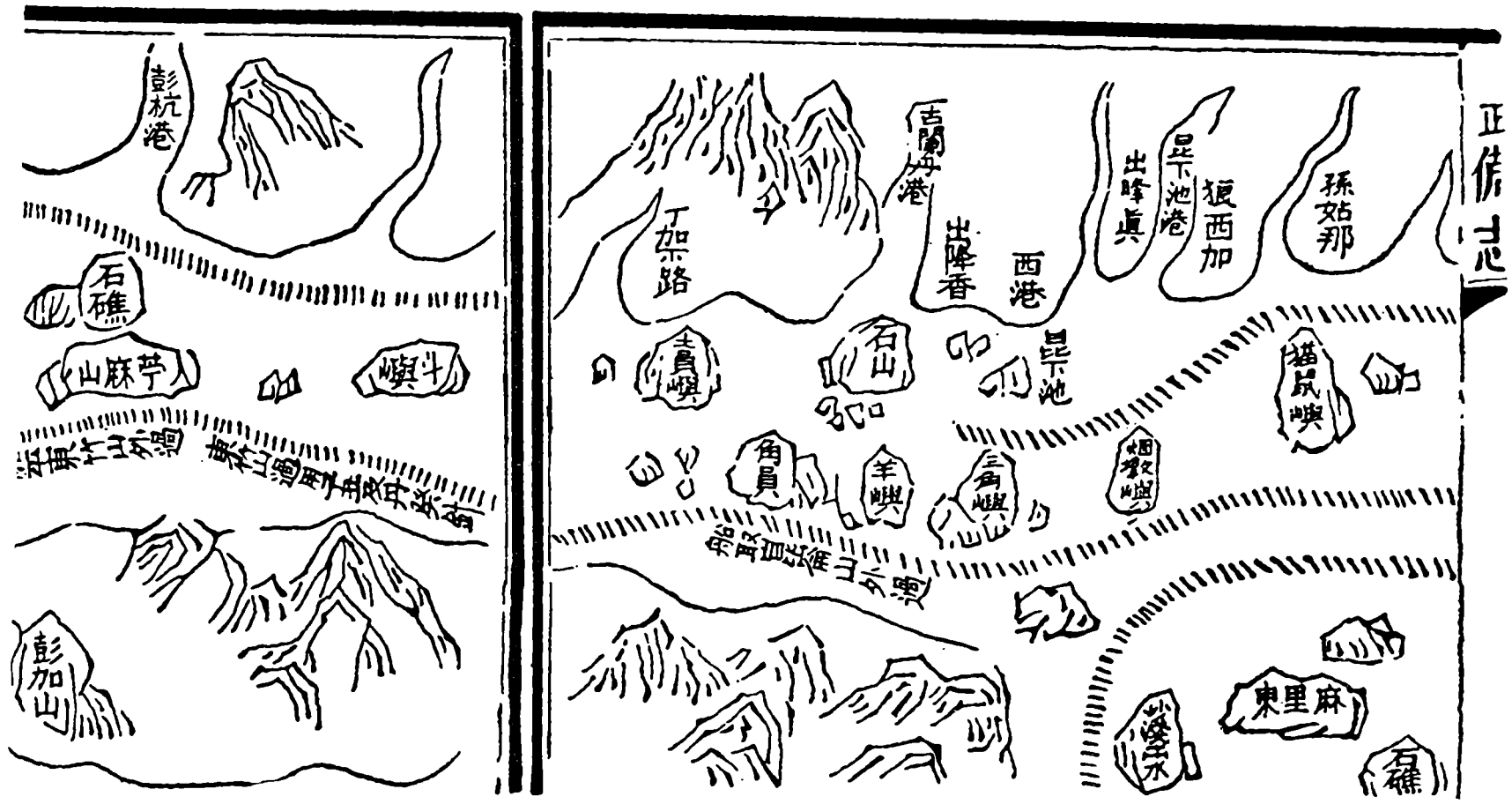


Fig. 20. The coast of the Malay Peninsula as depic



ted in chap. 240 of the Wu-pei-chih, *ff. 14 recto–17 recto.* *(facing page 100)*

The sailing directions round the Malayan coast refer only to a voyage from west to east. From *Su-men-ta-la* 蘇門答剌 *(Samudra)* they bring the navigator to *Pa-lu-t'ou* 巴碌頭 (Pĕrlak Head = Diamond Point), *Ya-lu* 亞路 (Aru), and thence across the Malacca Strait by way of *Tan-hsü* 單嶼 (Pulau Bĕrhala), *Shuang-hsü* 雙嶼 (The Brothers) and *Chi-ku-hsü* 雞骨嶼 (Chicken-Bone Island = Aroa Islands). Thence the directions read as follows:

Having made the Aroa Islands, setting a course of 120° and then of 110°, after 3 watches the ship is abreast of *Mien-hua-ch'ien* 綿花淺 (the Cotton Shoals = South Sands). Setting a course of 115° and then 120° for 3 watches the ship comes abreast of the Cotton Shoals.[1] After 10[2] watches on a course of 130° the ship is abreast of *Man-la-chia* (Malacca). Setting sail from Malacca on a course of 130°, after 5 watches the ship is abreast of *She-chien-shan* 射箭山 (Arrow-Shooting Mountain = Gunong Banang); after 3 watches on a course of 130° the ship is abreast of *P'i-sung-hsü* 毘宋嶼 (Pulau Pisang). Setting a course of 135°, the ship makes *Chi-li* [*-men*] 吉利[門] (Karimun). From Karimun after 5 watches on a course of 115° and then of 120° the ship makes *Ch'ang-yao-hsü* 長腰嶼 (Long-waist Island = Blakang Mati) and passes out through *Lung-ya-men* 龍牙門 (Dragon-Teeth Strait). From Dragon-Teeth Strait, setting a course of 85° for 5 watches, the ship makes *Pai-chiao* 白礁 (White Rock = Pedra Branca). Passing Pedra Branca and setting a course of 25° and then of 15°, after 5 watches the ship is abreast of *Tung-chu-shan* 東竹山 (East Bamboo Mountain = one of the two peaks on Pulau Aur) and passes outside it. After passing Pulau Aur and setting a course of 350°[3] and then of 15°, the ship makes *K'un-lun-shan* 崑崙山 (Pulau Condor) and passes outside it.

The value of these charts to the historical geographer will be immediately apparent. Here for the first time hitherto elusive place-names such as Langkasuka and Temasek are attached to specific localities. Here too are marked the salient coastal features by which Chinese mariners worked their way through Malayan waters. Approaching the coast of the Peninsula by way of the Aroa Islands, they made their landfall on Bukit Jugra, after which they steered parallel to the coast as far as the Karimun Islands. So far the chart is explicit, but the following section dealing with Singapore waters is so ambiguous and confused as to appear corrupt. Mr. J. V. Mills attempted to relate place-names and sailing directions to a passage through Singapore Main Strait.[4] This, I think, is unlikely

[1] Reference to the chart makes it clear that this is a mislection for *Mien-hua-hsü* = Cotton Island.

[2] Mills (*JMBRAS*, vol. xv, 1937, p. 12 and Plate I), working with Phillips's tracings from a modern work, the *Wu-pei-pi-shu*, has 十一 (eleven). The *Wu-pei-chih* reads 'ten' distinctly.

[3] The 子丗 of the chart must be an error for 子王.

[4] *JMBRAS*, vol. xv, pt. 3 (1937), pp. 21–8.

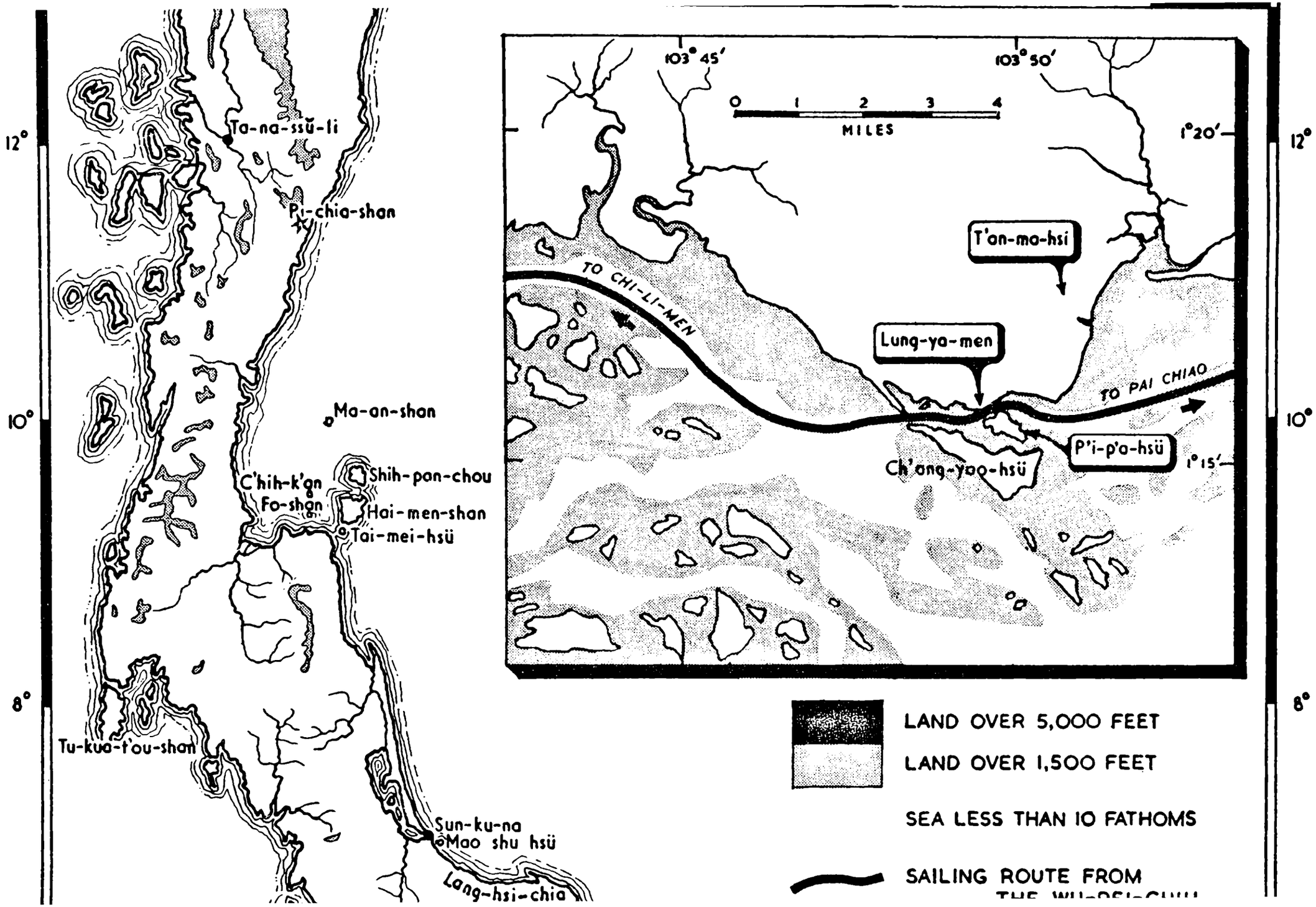
in view of the references to Long-waist Island, an apposite description of Blakang Mati, and to Dragon-Teeth Strait or Keppel Harbour.[1] The recommended course from Karimun fits neither this passage nor that through Singapore Main Strait, but a course of 085° from the eastern entrance to Keppel Harbour brings a vessel very close to Horsburgh Light (Pedra Branca). In this connexion Dr. Gibson-Hill has drawn attention to similarities between this section of the *Wu-pei-chih* chart and a rutter for a voyage from Malacca to the Pearl River compiled by the Portuguese pilot, Francisco Rodrigues, in about 1513.[2] In both the run from Karimun to Singapore *(Temasek)* was five watches and that from Singapore to Pedra Branca another five. As the Keppel Harbour strait was the only route known to the Portuguese at this time, Rodrigues' rutter, and therefore the *Wu-pei-chih* directions, must relate to that passage. Beyond Pedra Branca Chinese navigators followed a short leg of five watches towards Pulau Aur, their point of departure whence they set course directly for Pulau Condor.

This chart preserves the most detailed information about the Malayan coast ever obtained by the Chinese in early times. Numerous errors and serious omissions throughout the route from the Jewel-Ship Depot 寶船廠 at Nanking to the African coast suggest that the chart may have been an unfinished draft. Moreover, it not infrequently gives the impression of having been drawn from written accounts rather than having been compiled during actual voyages. This is especially noticeable, for example, in the placing of off-shore islands, particularly those near Singapore. Whether or not we subscribe to the claim that the chart gave the navigator 'fairly satisfactory information for steering his course without grounding his ship'[3] (and in this connexion we may recall that the instructions for negotiating the narrow passage between North and South Sands are grossly inadequate, as are those for the tricky western entrance into Keppel Harbour), yet it cannot be denied that the chart compares favourably with most extant near-contemporary European maps, while the lost charts of the early fifteenth century on which it is based must have been considerably in advance of the Ptolemaic delineations of the same period. I have found

[1] pp. 82–3 above.

[2] Gibson-Hill, *MRM*, no. 3 (1956), p. 39. The rutter is translated and edited by Cortesão in *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires*, pp. 301–3.

[3] Mills, *JMBRAS*, vol. xv, pt. 3 (1937), p. 40.


12°
10°
8°
Ta-na-ssŭ-li
Pi-chia-shan
Ma-an-shan
C'hih-k'an
Fo-shan
Shih-pan-chou
Hai-men-shan
Tai-mei-hsü
Tu-kua-t'ou-shan
Sun-ku-na
Mao shu hsü
Lang-hsi-chia
103° 45'
103° 50'
1° 20'
1° 15'
0 1 2 3 4
MILES
T'an-ma-hsi
TO CHI-LI-MEN
Lung-ya-men
TO PAI CHIAO
P'i-p'a-hsü
Ch'ang-yao-hsü
LAND OVER 5,000 FEET
LAND OVER 1,500 FEET
SEA LESS THAN 10 FATHOMS
SAILING ROUTE FROM

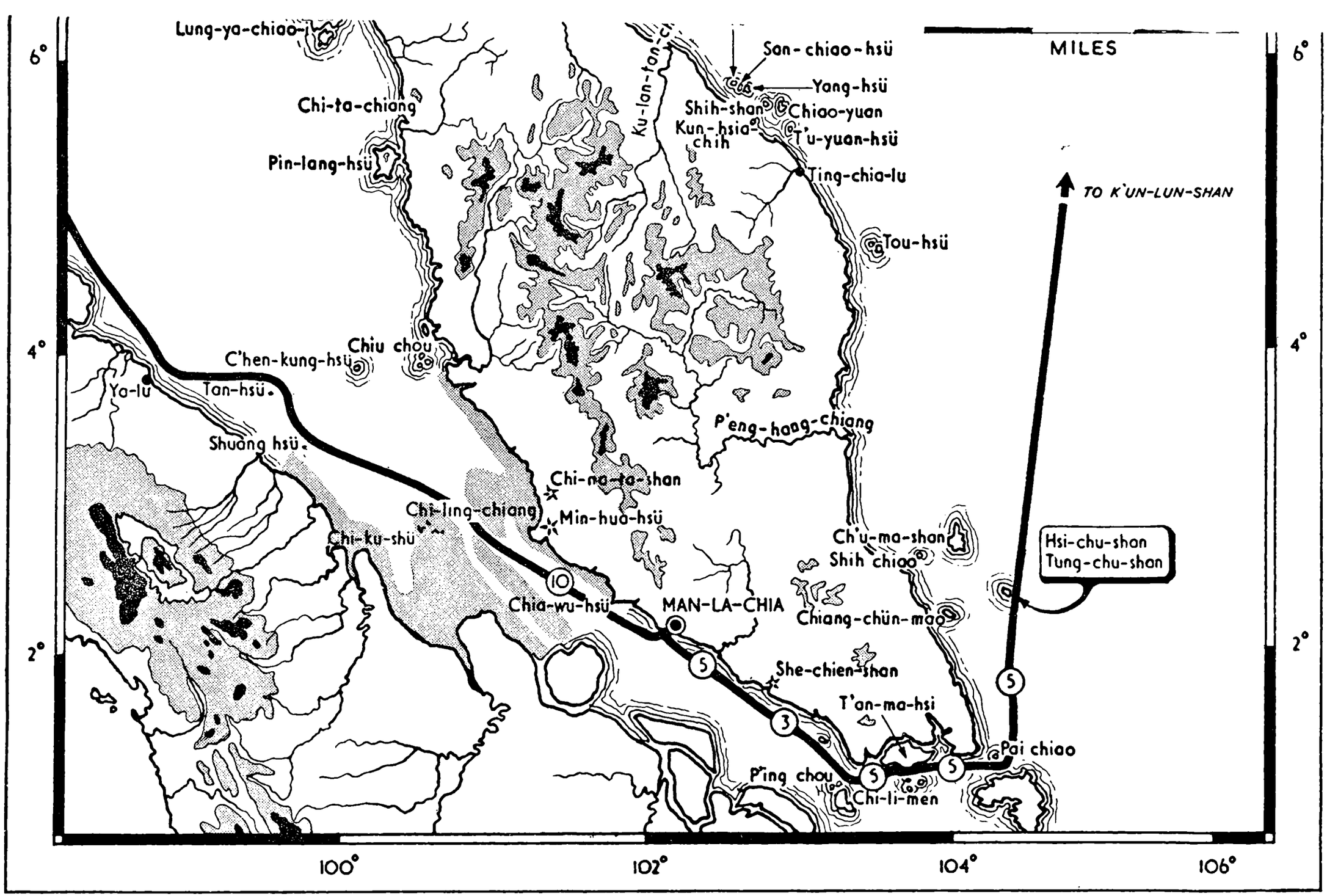


Fig. 21. The Malay Peninsula as known to Chinese mariners of the early fifteenth century (Based on charts on ff. 14 recto–17 recto of chap. 240 of the Wu-pei-chih). *For the modern equivalents of the Chinese place-names shown here see pp. 94-8 of the text. Inset: Dragon-teeth Strait. The black line marks the course recommended by the sailing directions in the* Wu-pei-chih;

little ground for Pelliot's contention that the *Wu-pei-chih* cartogram had an Arab chart for prototype.[1] The sailing directories of Sulaimān al-Mahrī (pages 233–4 below), for instance, are generally speaking more detailed, and the only sector where there is any significant correspondence between Arab and Chinese place-names is the run from the Aroa Islands to Bukit Jugra and thence south to Pulau Pisang. While the Arab charts preserve the names of a large number of navigational features on the northern two-thirds of the west coast, the Chinese record only a handful of names in that region. The east coast, on the other hand, although practically ignored, and at all times confused in extant Arab directories, contributes some thirty names to the Chinese chart. It is noteworthy that all but two or three of these are situated well away from the courses presumably followed by the Ming fleets. I hold it more likely that, rather than the Chinese chart should have been derived from an Arab prototype, both Arab and Chinese directories incorporated material supplied by local pilots combined with the records of Arab and Chinese voyages.

These Chinese voyages through Malayan waters apparently brought no increase in knowledge of the interior of the Peninsula. Although we know from Tomé Pires that the small ports of the east coast were engaged in trade with China (page 319 below), there is no evidence that their hinterlands were any more familiar to the Chinese than they had been in T'ang times. The only port of call marked on the *Wu-pei-chih* charts is Malacca,[2] which we know from other sources to have been visited by Chinese envoys early in the fifteenth century (Chapter XX). It is debatable whether the *kuan-hsü* (meaning 'official island') off the Johore estuary denoted a customs collectorate similar to that at Malacca or was simply an attempt to transcribe some local place-name.

[1] *TP*, vol. xxx (1933), p. 268.

[2] *Wu-pei-chih*, chap. 240, f. 16. The expression used is *kuan-ch'ang* 官廠.

APPENDIX I

NOTES ON CHINESE TEXTS MENTIONED ABOVE

1. DYNASTIC HISTORIES

The twenty-five officially approved standard histories have been called 'the world's greatest repository of historical information'. Comprising well over 20,000,000 characters, they are almost wholly untranslated and are therefore accessible only to sinologists. Fortunately they are arranged on a fairly uniform pattern based on that of the second, the *Annals of the Former Han*. Each begins with *ti chi* 帝紀 (imperial records), which deal with successive emperors in turn. This is succeeded by the *chih* 志 (memoirs), a miscellaneous section which includes geographical topics (*ti li* 地理) **relating to the Empire;** and the history concludes with the *lieh chuan* 列傳 (biographies). It is this last section which contains the descriptions of **foreign** countries, incorporated with the lives of the most eminent statesmen and envoys of the period. It should be remembered that these histories were written by government officials for the use of bureaucrats, who were probably not vitally interested in the geography of distant countries. This may go far to explain the disparity in the exactness of geographical detail between the *ti li* and the *lieh chuan*.

The objectivity of the Chinese histories has been demonstrated by H. H. Dubs ('The Reliability of Chinese Histories', *FEQ*, vol. vi, no. 1, New York, 1946, pp. 23–43), who concludes, 'The extraordinarily high Confucian ideal of historical accuracy has kept the best Chinese histories up to a high standard of reliability.'

The most important references to early Malaya will be found in the following histories:

(1) *Ch'ien Han Shu* 前漢書 (*Annals of the Former Han*, 206 B.C.–A.D. 8) by Pan Ku 班固. Chapter 28 mentions voyages from China to the east coast of India in the time of Wu-ti (141–87 B.C.) and P'ing-ti (A.D. 1–5), the former including what is probably a trans-peninsular portage, the second a coastal voyage round the Peninsula. This passage has been examined by a succession of able scholars including, in chronological order, Pelliot, Herrmann, Laufer, Ferrand, Luce, Fujita Toyohachi and Duyvendak, while the present author has recently proposed some new identifications: 'Probable references to the Malay Peninsula in the Annals of the

Former Han', *JMBRAS*, vol. xxx, pt. 1 (1957), pp. 79–85, which incorporates full references to previous work.

(2) *Liang-shu* 梁書 (*Annals of the Liang Dynasty*, 502–57) compiled by Yao Ssŭ-lien 姚思廉 who died in A.D. 637. Chapter 54 contains a section on the *Nan-Hai* 南海 which includes descriptions of several kingdoms known to have been situated on the Malay Peninsula, e.g., *Tun-sun* 頓遜, *Lang-ya-hsiu* 狼牙修, *P'an-p'an* 槃槃 and *Tan-tan* 丹丹, together with brief mention of several others such as *Chü-li* 拘利 and the elusive *Ch'ü-tu-k'un* 屈都昆.

Much of the information relating to these early kingdoms is derived from the embassy of K'ang-T'ai 康泰 and Chu-Ying 朱應 to *Fu-nan* 扶南 in the middle of the third century A.D. Their reports are now lost but substantial quotations are preserved in the *Liang-shu*, as well as in the *Shui Ching Chu* 水經注, the *Shih-chi Cheng-i* 史記正義 and sundry encyclopedias. K'ang-T'ai's work is referred to under the following titles: *Fu-nan Chuan* 扶南傳, *Fu-nan Chi* 扶南記, *Fu-nan T'u-su (Chuan)* 扶南土俗[傳] and *K'ang-T'ai Wai-kuo Chuan* 康泰外國傳; and Chu-Ying's as *Fu-nan I-wu Chih* 扶南異物志 and *Fu-nan I-nan Chi* 扶南以南記 (see Appendix 2).

For a study of the ancient Malayan place-names mentioned in the *Liang-shu* see the author's 'The Malay Peninsula as known to the Chinese of the third century A.D.', *JMBRAS*, vol. xxviii, pt. 1 (1955), pp. 1–23, and 'Tun-sun', *JRAS*, (1955), pp. 17–30.

(3) *Sui-shu* 隋書 (*Annals of the Sui Dynasty*, A.D. 581–618), compiled by Wei-Cheng 魏徵 (581–643), also contains (chapter 82) a lengthy extract from a report no longer extant, the *Ch'ih-t'u Kuo Chi* 赤土國記 *(Record of the Red-Earth Kingdom)* by the envoys *Ch'ang-Chün* 常駿 and Wang Chün-cheng 王君政, who visited North-East Malaya in A.D. 607–9. The extract also appears in identical language in chapter 95 of the *Pei-shih* 北史 (*History of the Northern Dynasties*, A.D. 420–589) by Li Yen-shou 李延壽.

(4) *Chiu T'ang Shu* 舊唐書 (*Old Annals of the T'ang Dynasty*, A.D. 618–906), by Liu-Hsü 劉昫 (897–946) and others, includes scattered references to several Malayan countries, notably *Ko-lo* 哥羅, *P'an-p'an* 盤盤, *Tan-tan* 丹丹, *Lo-yüeh* 羅越, *Ko-ku-lo* 哥谷羅, *Chieh-ch'a* 羯茶 and *Ch'ih-t'u* 赤土. Most of these were retained in the remodelled *Hsin T'ang Shu* 新唐書 or *New T'ang Annals* of Ou Yang-hsiu 歐陽修 and *Sung Ch'i* 宋祁, which were completed in 1060, but this later version also incorporated other

material of the highest importance to the historical geographer of South-East Asia, namely, quotations from a lost geographical memoir compiled by Chia-Tan 賈耽 between 785 and 805. This takes the form of a series of itineraries, including one from China to India by way of the South Seas which provides supplementary data of great value in locating *Ko-lo*, *Ko-ku-lo*, *Lo-yüeh* and the strait *Chih* 質 (Strait of Malacca). Chia-Tan's itinerary has been analysed at length by Paul Pelliot in his famous paper, 'Deux itinéraires de Chine en Inde à la fin du VIII^{e} siècle', *BEFEO*, vol. iv (1904), pp. 131–413; F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua* (St. Petersburg, 1911); and G. Ferrand, *Relations de voyages et textes géographiques arabes, persans et turks relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient*, vol. ii (Paris, 1914), pp. 642–4.

(5) The records of later dynasties also throw light on the historical geography of Malaya during this period, but their information is often drawn from books which are still extant. The most useful of these later histories are: *Sung-shih* 宋史 (*History of the Sung*, 960–1279), by T'o-T'o 托托 (1313–55); *Yüan-shih* 元史 (*History of the Yüan Dynasty*, 1206–1367) by Sung-Lien 宋濂 (1310–81), and *Ming-shih* 明史 (*History of the Ming*, 1368–1644) by Chang T'ing-yü 張廷玉 in 1742.

2. ENCYCLOPEDIAS

Chinese encyclopedias consist almost entirely of selected quotations from earlier writings, usually classified according to subject. Owing to their nature as secondary sources encyclopedias have never been in high repute among Chinese scholars, but not infrequently quotations from such works have proved of greater accuracy and authenticity than the corresponding passages in modern editions of the original sources. Moreover, the earlier encyclopedias often preserve material from works no longer extant. Quotations were not normally altered beyond a slight polishing of the literary style. Needless to say, apart from an insignificant number of fragmentary *ad hoc* renderings made by various scholars at different times, the encyclopedias have not been translated into any foreign tongue.

(1) The earliest encyclopedia containing information about the Malay Peninsula is the *T'ung Tien* 通典 in 200 chuan, compiled over a period of thirty-six years in the eighth century A.D. by Tu-Yu 杜佑. This diligent scholar and experienced official carefully

selected his items, arranged in chronological order to the end of the T'ang T'ien Pao period (755), from a wide variety of sources and annotated each with quoted discussions and criticisms of other writers, assembled in such a way as to indicate Tu-Yu's own opinions. The editors of the *Ssŭ-k'u Ch'uan-shu Tsung-mu* 四庫全書總目 (Catalogue of Books in the Imperial Library, 1782) accord the *T'ung Tien* high praise, saying it 'is made up entirely of solid material, that it contains all information essential to a knowledge of the period it covers, and that it clearly and systematically traces the evolution of each of the subjects it deals with'. The Malayan material is mainly in the section on Border Affairs in volume 188, which includes items on *Ko-lo*, *Tun-sun*, *Lang-ya-hsiu*, *P'an-p'an*, *Ch'ih-t'u*, *Tan-tan* and *Pien-tou* 邊斗.

(2) From the ninth century comes the *Yu-yang Tsa-tsu* 酉陽雜俎 in twenty books, written by Tuan Ch'eng-shih 段成式. This treats largely of the supernatural and miraculous, but is not wholly without value to the historical geographer for it includes a variety of information about the products of China and foreign nations.

(3) *T'ai-p'ing Yü Lan* 太平御覽 was compiled between 977 and 983, under the title *Tai-p'ing-pien-lei* 太平編類, by Li-Fang 李昉, to provide the Sung Emperor, Tai-Tsung 宋太宗, with a broad foundation of general knowledge. The MS. of a 1,000 chuan was examined by the Emperor at the rate of three books a day so that he reviewed the whole in one year, and from this circumstance the name was changed to *T'ai-p'ing Yü Lan*, which has been retained ever since. The amount of material quoted is very much fuller than in the T'ang encyclopedias. That relating to Malaya is found chiefly in chapters 187 *(Ch'ih-t'u, Lang-ya-hsiu* and *P'an-P'an)* and 188 *(Tun-sun, Tan-tan* and *Pien-tou)*, with some further information on products in the botanical section, chapter 982.

(4) *Ts'e-fu Yüan-kuei* 冊府元龜, in 1,000 chuan, is a collection of material relating to the lives of early emperors and ministers, which was designed as a guide for government officials. Completed under imperial auspices in 1013 by Wang Ch'in-jo 王欽若, it contains only authoritative material, much of which is not found in other extant works, even the dynastic histories. Except for the introductions and some glosses, this encyclopedia consists of quotations arranged chronologically under each item. The Malayan material is mostly in chapter 969.

(5) *Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao* 文獻通考, compiled in 348 chuan by Ma Tuan-lin 馬端臨, who lived at the end of the Sung and beginning of the Yüan dynasty, is based fundamentally on the *T'ung Tien*, with a great deal of later material added by the compiler himself. He frequently included information which is omitted from the *Sung-shih*. The items relating to Malaya are mostly in the section on frontiers in volumes 331 and 332, which include sections on *Kǫ-lo*, *Tun-sun*, *Lang-ya-hsiu*, *P'an-p'an*, *Pien-tou* and *Tan-tan*.

3. TRAVELS AND TOPOGRAPHIES

(1) *Records of Buddhist Pilgrims*

(i) Buddhist scriptures were brought to China during the first century A.D. or earlier by Indian missionaries, and Chinese converts were soon undertaking the arduous journey to India, the Holy Land of their faith, there to study Sanskrit texts and commentaries. The first of these pilgrims whose writings have been preserved is Shih Fa-Hsien 釋法顯 who, in A.D. 413–4, returned from India to China by way of the *Nan-Hai*. His account of his voyage from Ceylon to China is easily the most valuable record of a voyage in the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea which has come down to us from antiquity. It is found towards the end of the work which Fa-Hsien, in collaboration with an Indian priest, compiled on his return to China, namely the *Fo-kuo Chi* 佛國記 *(Record of the Buddhist kingdoms)*. This has been translated into English by S. Beal (*Buddhist records of the western world*, London, N.D., pp. xxiii–lxxxiii); J. Legge, (*A record of Buddhistic kingdoms*, Oxford, 1886); and H. A. Giles (*The travels of Fa-hsien*, Cambridge, 1923). The routes mapped in the latter two works cannot be accepted since the publication of a paper by A. Grimes: 'The journey of Fa-Hsien from Ceylon to Canton', *JMBRAS*, vol. xix, pt. 1 (1941), pp. 76–92.

(ii) The second of these pilgrims of interest to us is Hsüan-Tsang 玄奘[1] whose journey to India and back lasted from A.D. 629–45. He travelled both ways by land, but he did visit *Samataṭa*, a state on the coast north of Chittagong and reported on kingdoms in South-East Asia by hearsay. His account of the countries he visited and heard about is contained in *Ta-T'ang Hsi-yü Chi* 大唐

[1] Appears as Yüan-Tsang 元奘 in *K'ang-hsi Tzŭ-tien* 康熙字典 after the Emperor K'ang-Hsi had adopted Hsüan as his personal name.

西域記 (*Record of the western world during the great T'ang Dynasty*), in twelve books written by Pien Chi 辯機 from the dictation of Hsüan-Tsang himself in A.D. 646. This has been translated into English by S. Beal, *op. cit.*, pp. 1–326 and T. Watters, *On Yüan Chwang's travels in India, 629–645* A.D., 2 volumes (London, 1904–5).

The same information also finds a place in a biography of Hsüan-Tsang, *Ta-t'ang Ta-tz'ŭ-en-ssŭ San-ts'ang Fa-shih Chuan* 大唐大慈思寺三藏法師傳 (*Memoir on the Master of the Law of the Tripiṭaka of the Great Temple of Compassion during the Great T'ang Dynasty*), written originally, probably in five chapters, by Hui-li, one of the Master's disciples, and afterwards enlarged and completed in ten chapters by the monk Yen-Sung. This work has been translated into English by S. Beal, *The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang* (London, 1911).

(iii) The most famous of the Buddhist pilgrims who visited India during the T'ang period was undoubtedly I-Ching 義淨. Setting sail in A.D. 671, this monk proceeded by way of the South Seas to India. After three years he returned to *Śrī Vijaya*, whence he dispatched to China his *Nan-hai Chi-kuei Nei-fa Chuan* 南海寄歸內法傳 (*Memoir on the Esoteric Doctrine sent home from the South Seas*) in four chapters. The object of this work was to refute erroneous opinions prevalent in China as to the teaching of the various Buddhist schools or *nikāyas*. It is in fact an exclusive representation of the Mūlasarvāstivāda School, but it claims our attention by virtue of the valuable geographical notes interpolated by the author. This work has been translated into English by J. Takakusu, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago* (Oxford, 1896).

I-Ching eventually returned to Honan in 693 or 694, and spent his declining years in translating and compiling. From this period dates his most valuable contribution to the geography of the South Seas, namely *Ta-T'ang Hsi-yü Ch'iu-fa Kao-seng Chuan* 大唐西域求法高僧傳 (*Memoir on the Eminent Monks who sought the Law in the West during the Great T'ang Dynasty*) in two parts. This takes the form of a series of biographies of some sixty Buddhist pilgrims, including I-Ching himself, who set out for India during the second half of the seventh century. Of these, thirty-seven travelled by sea, and the route which we can reconstruct from their composite voyages is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of navigation

during T'ang times. There is a French translation of this work by E. Chavannes, *Mémoire composée à l'époque de la grande dynastie T'ang sur les religieux éminents qui allèrent chercher la loi dans les pays d'Occident* (Paris, 1894).

(2) *Topographies*

(i) *T'ai-p'ing Huan Yü Chi* 太平寰宇記, by Lo-shih 樂史, is a general statistical and descriptive topography, in 193 books, of the Empire, together with some data on neighbouring countries. The Malayan material is in chapters 176 *(Ko-lo, Tun-sun, Lang-ya-hsü, P'an-p'an)* and 177 *(Ch'ih-t'u, Tan-tan* and *Pien-tou)*.

(ii) *Ling-wai Tai-ta* 嶺外代答 was written in ten books by Chou Ch'ü-fei 周去非, Assistant Sub-Prefect in Kuei-lin, the capital of Kuang-si, in 1178. Professing to be supplementary to the *Kuei-hai-yü-heng-chih* 桂海虞衡志 by Fan Ch'eng-ta, a topography of the southern provinces of the Empire, the *Ling-wai Tai-ta* adds summary outlines of numerous South Asian countries.

(iii) In 1226 was published one of the most important sources for the study of oriental sea-trade in the Sung period; *Chu-fan-chih* 諸蕃志 *(Description of the Barbarians)*. This was the work of Chao Ju-kua 趙汝适, a Commissioner of Foreign Trade at Ch'üan-chou in Fukien province. This book is divided into two parts. The first comprises descriptions of countries in South and East Asia and as far west as the African coast and the Mediterranean. The author abstracted much of this from the *Ling-wai Tai-ta*, but his official position afforded him exceptional opportunities for obtaining information from foreign and Chinese sailors who frequented Ch'üan-chou, and several sections relating to South-East Asia appear to be derived solely from such oral communication. The second part of the work is devoted to a systematic description of the principal foreign products mentioned in Part I, for which Chao again drew largely on his personal association with overseas traders, supplemented by borrowings from the *Ling-wai Tai-ta*, *Yu-yang Tsa-tsu*, and to a lesser extent from dynastic histories, *T'ung Tien* and other works. The Malayan kingdoms described by Chao are: *Teng-liu-mei* 登流眉, *Tan-ma-ling* 單馬令, *Ling-ya-ssŭ-chia* 凌牙斯加 and *Fo-lo-an* 佛囉安, with incidental references to Pahang 蓬豐 and Kĕlantan 吉蘭丹. There is an English translation by F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua* (St. Petersburg, 1911).

(iv) *Tao-i Chih-lioh* 島夷誌略 *(Description of the Barbarians of the Isles)* is a description in 100 sections of 99 countries, ports and noteworthy localities ranging from the Moluccas to Arabia and the African coast. It was compiled in 1349 by Wang Ta-yüan 汪大淵 (cognomen Huan-chang 煥章) who had himelf traded in a considerable number of foreign localities in and subsequent to 1330 *(vide Ssŭ-k'u*, 12). The only perceptible plan underlying this work is a general arrangement of countries into eastern and western, but there are frequent exceptions even to this. The influence of Chao Ju-kua is apparent in the arrangement of the text, but there are only five direct quotations, and localities mentioned in *Chu-fan-chih* often appear in Wang's work under a different orthography. The following Malayan kingdoms are described: Pahang 彭坑, Kĕlantan 吉蘭丹, Trĕngganu 丁家盧, *Langkasuka* 龍牙犀角, Keppel Harbour 龍牙門, *Tan-ma-ling* 丹馬令, and possibly *Wu-chih-pa* 無枝拔, *Min-to-lang* 民多郎, *Lo-wei* 羅衛 and *Hsiao-pen* 嘯噴. The first scholar to attempt to identify the countries referred to in this work was Fujita Toyohachi in *Tao-i Chih-lioh Chiao-chu* 島夷誌畧校注, published in *Hsüeh-t'ang-ts'ung-k'e* 雪堂叢刻. There is also an English translation incorporated in W. W. Rockhill's 'Notes on the relations and trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the coast of the Indian Ocean during the fourteenth century, part 2', *TP*, volume xvi (1915), pp. 61–159.

(3) *The Ming voyages*

With the decay of Mongol dominance over Asia, during which there had been a lively intercourse between East and West, imports into China practically ceased. In a strenuous effort to resuscitate this foreign trade, the third emperor of the Ming dynasty sent at least seven major expeditions, under the command of Cheng-Ho, into the *Nan-Hai*, the Indian Ocean and even beyond. These expeditions, the first authenticated occasions on which Chinese had reached as far as the African Coast, were recorded in four main works.

(i) *Hsi-yang Fan-kuo Chih* 西洋番國志 *(Record of the Western Barbarians)* of Kung-Chen 鞏珍, who accompanied the expedition of 1431–3 as a secretary. In 1434 he published this description of the twenty countries he had visited, including Malacca. This work is continuous narrative with no divisions into chapters. It has not been translated.

(ii) *Hsing-ch'a Sheng-lan* 星槎勝覽 *(Description of the Starry Raft*[1]*)* by Fei-Hsin 費信 (1436), a man belonging to the scholar class who had visited the *Nan-Hai* in the suite of Cheng-Ho. The text usually quoted consists of four chapters in *Ku-chin-shuo-hai* 古今說海 (1544); of one chapter in *Chi-lu-hui-pien* 紀錄彙編 (1617); and again of four chapters in both the *Hsüeh-hai-lei-pien* 學海類編 and the *Che-ku-ts'ung-ch'ao* 澤古叢鈔. This text does not differentiate between the countries visited by Fei-Hsin himself and those on which he reported by hearsay, but another, of only two chapters, in the *T'ien-i-ko* 天一閣, makes this distinction. Paul Pelliot has established the relationship of these texts in 'Les grands voyages maritimes chinois au début du XV^{e} siècle', *TP*, volume xxx, pp. 246–339. The Malayan places reported on at first hand are Malacca 滿剌加 and *Lung-ya-hsi-chiao* 龍牙犀角; those by hearsay are *Lung-ya-men* 龍牙門 and Pahang 彭坑. An English translation is incorporated in Rockhill, *TP*, volume xviii (1915), pp. 61–159.

(iii) *Ying-yai Sheng-lan* 瀛涯勝覽 *(Description of the Coasts of the Ocean)* published in 1451 by Ma-Huan 馬歡, a Muslim interpreter who also accompanied Cheng-Ho on some of his expeditions. The tortuous bibliography of this work has been elucidated by the combined efforts of Duyvendak ('Ma Huan re-examined') and Pelliot (*TP*, volume xxx, pp. 241–64). The fundamental edition is that in chapter 62 of *Chi-lu-hui-pien* 紀錄彙編 of Chen Chieh-fu 沈節甫 (1617). The *Ying-yai Sheng-lan*, wherever it overlaps the work of Fei-Hsin, is found to attain a much higher standard of factual accuracy. The only Malayan country described is Malacca 滿剌加. There are two translations of this passage: by Groeneveldt ('Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca,' *MPI*, pp. 243–5) and Rockhill (*TP*, vol. xvi, 1915, pp. 114–7). This latter translation is derived from a rifacimento of the original text, and should be supplemented by amendments by Duyvendak ('Ma-Huan re-examined', pp. 42–5) and Pelliot (*TP*, vol. xxx, 1933, pp. 389–400).

(iv) *Hsi-yang-chao-kung-tien-lu* 西洋朝貢典錄 *(Record of the Tributary Nations of the West)* was written by the well-known scholar, Huang Sheng-ts'eng 黃省曾 in 1520. Of the twenty-three countries described, only Malacca 滿剌加 and Pahang 彭坑 are on the Malay Peninsula, and the descriptions of these are derived wholly from the *Ying-yai Sheng-lan* and *Hsing-ch'a Sheng-lan*.

[1] i.e., a ship carrying an imperial ambassador.

(v) *Wu-pei-chih* 武備志 *(Notes on Military Preparation)* was compiled by Mao Yüan-i 茅元儀. The preface is dated 1621, but it was not offered to the throne until 1628, so that we know it was printed subsequent to the latter date. Of chief interest to the historical geographer are the maps on folios 2 verso–22 recto of chapter 240, which are believed to show the routes of the Ming fleets during the first third of the fifteenth century. Information relating to the time and direction of the voyage is inscribed along the lines marking the tracks of the vessels, so that these maps perform at one and the same time the function of charts and sailing directions. The section along the Malayan coasts (folios 14 verso–17 recto) has been analysed in detail by J. V. Mills, 'Malaya in the Wu-pei-chih charts', *JMBRAS*, vol. xv, pt. 3 (1937), pp. 1–48. Unfortunately Mills worked not from the original charts but from tracings made by George Phillips in 1885–6, which were themselves abstracted from a late compilation known as the *Wu-pei-pi-shu* 武備秘書. It is not surprising, therefore, that one or two of Mills's place-name transcriptions are erroneous. Moreover, his translation of the sailing directions should be revised in accordance with the compass-card reconstructed by W. Z. Mulder, 'The "Wu-pei-chih" Charts', *TP*, vol. xxxvii (1944), pp. 1–14.

APPENDIX 2

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE EMBASSY OF K'ANG-T'AI AND CHU-YING

The reports of these two envoys have been lost but the substance of much of the information is incorporated in later works. Li Tao-yüan 麗道元, for example, in his *Shui-ching-chu* 水經注, written at the end of the fifth century, frequently cites the work of K'ang-T'ai, usually under the title of *Fu-nan-chuan* 扶南傳 but occasionally as *Fu-nan-chi* 扶南記. The *T'ai-p'ing Yü-lan* 大平御覽, that enormous compendium compiled between 977 and 983 for the benefit of the second Sung emperor, also includes a number of notices derived from the same source, which is here called the *Fu-nan-t'u-su* 扶南土俗, while both the eighth-century *T'ung Tien* 通典 and the *T'ai-p'ing Huan Yü Chi* 太平寰宇記 (chapter 177), published c. 980, cite a passage from the *Fu-nan-t'u-su-chuan* 扶南土俗傳, which would certainly seem also to be the work of K'ang-T'ai. Finally, *Chang Shou-chieh* 張守節, in chapter 123 of his *Shih-chi Cheng-i* 史記正義 acknowledges K'ang-T'ai's original work under the titles *K'ang-T'ai Wai-kuo Chuan* 康泰外國傳 and *K'ang-shih Wai-kuo Chuan* 康氏外國傳.

So much for the fragments of K'ang-T'ai's work which yet remain to us. However, these are not the only records of his mission which have been preserved. Both the *Sui-shu* 隋書 (chapter 33) and the *Hsin T'ang Shu* 新唐書 (chapter 58) mention a work by Chu-Ying entitled *Fu-nan I-wu Chih* 扶南異物志, and there are also other possible references to that author. The *Shih-chi Cheng-i* (chapter 123) and the *T'ung Tien* (chapter 192), for example, both cite an account known to them as *I-wu-chih* 異物志 which they attribute to a Sung-Ying 宋膺. It has sometimes been thought that Sung-Ying was a mislection for Chu-Ying 朱膺. Although palæographically this is possible Pelliot is of the opinion that it is unlikely (*BEFEO*, tome iii, 1903, pp. 276–7). Finally—and here we are on more certain ground—the seventh-century *Nan-shih* 南史 (chapter 49) mentions an author and his work under the form Chu Chien-an *Fu-nan I-nan Chi* 朱建安扶南以南記 and Pelliot has shown that this can only refer to the 扶南異物志 of Chu-Ying (*Vide* Pelliot, *BEFEO*, tome iii, 1903, p. 273, note 3).

The works discussed so far date from the third century A.D., but it is not unlikely that a compilation of the fifth century owes something to the same source. This is the *Fu-nan-chi* 扶南記 which is frequently cited in the *Shui Ching Chu* and *T'ai-p'ing Yü Lan*. The author of this work is stated to be Chu-Chih, usually denoted in the *Shui Ching Chu* by the characters 竺枚 but in the *T'ai-p'ing Yü Lan* by 竺芝. It is not now possible to determine the correct orthography of this author's name, but the family name of Chu 竺 would seem to indicate that he was an Indian.[1] Moreover he often remarks in parenthesis that he has seen events with his own eyes, which would imply that Chu-Chih himself had at least supplemented earlier accounts with direct observation in the South Seas. Pelliot has shown that Chu-Chih was probably writing in the second half of the fifth century (*BEFEO*, 1903, p. 277). Li Tao-yüan compiled the *Shui Ching Chu*, which frequently cites Chu-Chih's *Fu-nan-chi*, at the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century, while the *Fu-nan-chi* itself contains references to events in *Campā* in A.D. 446. Chu-Chih must, therefore, have been writing between these dates.

[1] *T'ien-chu* 天竺 = India. See also Pelliot *BEFEO*, tome iii (1903), p. 252, note 4.

APPENDIX 3

CHIN-LIN 金隣, THE FRONTIER OF GOLD

We have seen in Chapter II that *Chin-lin* featured as the final objective in the third-century campaign of Fan-shih-man, while the Great Bay of the same name separated *Pien-tou*, *Tu-k'un* and *Chü-li* from *Fu-nan*. This same place-name also occurs in a number of other early works. The earliest mention is in the third-century *San-tu-fu* 三都賦 of Tso-Ssŭ 左思, a reference glossed by Li-Shan 李善 some four centuries later with the following remarks: 'Some 2,000 *li* or more beyond *Fu-nan* is the country of *Chin-lin*, which is a source of silver. The country is well populated. The inhabitants are fond of hunting large elephants which they capture alive. On the [eventual] death of these elephants, they remove their tusks.' The *T'ai-p'ing Yü Lan* (chapter 790) incorporates quotations relating to *Chin-lin* from the *I-wu-chih* 異物志, (*Vide* Appendix 2 to this Part) and the *Wai-kuo-chuan* 外國傳. The information recorded here is much the same as that noted by Li-Shan, with one important addition, namely, that *Chin-lin* was also called *Chin-ch'en* 金陳. In the early sixth century the *Shui-ching-chu* 水經注 (chapter 1) quotes Chu-Chih's *Fu-nan-chi* 扶南記 as saying that *Chin-ch'en* was 2,000 *li* by land from a Buddhist country called *Lin-yang* 林陽. There was no water communication between these kingdoms. (According to the *T'ai-p'ing Yü Lan*, chapter 787, *Lin-yang* was 7,000 *li* either west or south-west of *Fu-nan*.) Finally in the seventh century I-Ching noted that the kingdom of *Chin-lin* paid homage to the Imperial Court (*Nan-hai Chi-kuei Nei-fa Chuan*, introduction). The eighteenth-century commentator Kāśyapa equated this *Chin-lin* with the *Chin-chou* 金洲 mentioned twice by I-Ching in his *Ta-T'ang Hsi-yü Ch'iu-fa Kao-seng Chuan* as the name of a locality in Sumatra. I am inclined to suspect that *Chin-lin* was here a slip for *Chin-chou* and that neither name has any other connexion with the place-name of earlier writers. There is also a late reference in the *K'ang-hsi Tzŭ-tien* to a *Chin-lin* 金潾 situated in *Chiao-chih* (Tong-king) but it is doubtful if this identification was ever anything more than a not very informed guess on the part of the compilers. Most writers on this period have regarded the name as a translation meaning 'The Frontier of Gold', and some have thus been led to propose an

equation with the Indian *Suvarṇadvīpa*. But the forms *Chin-lin* and *Chin-ch'en* are sufficiently similar to suggest that the names may equally well be transcriptions of local sounds.

The only clues as to the location of *Chin-lin* to be extracted from this potpourri of texts are its position some 2,000 *li* beyond—that is, west—of *Fu-nan* and on the far side of a large bay, and its association with silver. Pelliot, who collected the texts in 1903 (*BEFEO*, tome iii, p. 266, note 5), and Luce, who summarized the position in 1925 (*JBRS*, vol. xiv, pt. 2, pp. 151–4), both favoured the identification of this bay with the Gulf of Martaban, but this hardly accords with the evidence. At an earlier date Yang Wen-hui had suggested the Gulf of Siam,[1] an interpretation with which Braddell (*JMBRAS*, vol. xvii, pt. 1, 1939, pp. 201–2) is in agreement. That the Great Bay of *Chin-lin* was eastward of the Malay Peninsula can hardly be disputed but I prefer to identify it with the Bight of Bangkok rather than with the whole of the Gulf of Siam, which in the third century seems to have formed at least part of the *Chang-Hai* (page 15 above). *Chin-lin* would then be the country around the shores of the Bight. There is no silver in that locality but possibly it was obtained from the lodes of the Shan States, several of which are reputed to have been worked in ancient times.[2] There are lean ores associated with the igneous intrusions of the Mergui district but their nature renders it impossible that they could have been worked in early days, while that particular part of the isthmus was much more likely to have been included in the territory of *Tun-sun*.

[1] Quoted in d'Hervey de Saint-Denys, *Ethnographie: méridionaux*, p. 511, note 9.

[2] Chhibber, *The mineral resources of Burma*, chap. VIII.

Appendix 4

TRIBUTE MISSIONS FROM THE MALAY PENINSULA TO THE CHINESE COURT TO THE END OF THE CHEN-LA PERIOD

(Dated as accurately as the texts permit)

424–53	P'an-p'an	(*Liang-shu*, chap. 54.)
455	P'an-p'an	(*Sung-shu*, chap. 6.)
457–64	P'an-p'an	(*Liang-shu*, chap. 54.)
515	Lang-ya-hsiu	(*Liang-shu*, chaps. 2 and 54; *T'ung Tien*, chap. 188; *T'ai-p'ing Huan Yü Chi*, chap. 176; and *Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao*, chap. 331.)
523	Lang-ya-hsiu	(*Liang-shu*, chaps. 3 and 54.)
527	P'an-p'an	(*Liang-shu*, chap. 54; *T'ung Tien*, chap. 188 and *Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao*, chap. 331.)
529	P'an-p'an	(*Liang-shu*, chaps. 3 and 54.)
530	P'an-p'an	(*T'ung Tien*, chap. 188; *Hsin T'ang Shu*, chap. 222c; *T'ai-p'ing Yü Lan*, chap. 787; *T'ai-p'ing Huan Yü Chi*, chap. 176 and *Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao*, chap. 331.)
530	Tan-tan	(*Liang-shu*, chap. 54.)
531	Tan-tan	(*Liang-shu*, chap. 3.)
531	Lang-ya-hsiu	(*Liang-shu*, chap. 3.)
532	P'an-p'an	(*Liang-shu*, chap. 3 and *Nan-shih*, chap. 78.)
533	P'an-p'an	(*Liang-shu*, chap. 3.)
534	P'an-p'an	(*Liang-shu*, chap. 54.)
535	Tan-tan	(*Liang-shu*, chaps. 3 and 54.)
536	P'an-p'an	(*T'ung Tien*, chap. 188; *T'ai-p'ing Yü Lan*, chap. 787; *T'ai-p'ing Huan Yü Chi*, chap. 176 and *Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao*, chap. 331.)
540	P'an-p'an	(*Liang-shu*, chap. 3.)
551	P'an-p'an	(*Liang-shu*, chap. 5.)
568	Lang-ya-hsiu	(*Ch'en-shu*, chap. 4.)

571	Tan-tan	(*Ch'en-shu*, chap. 5.)
571	P'an-p'an	(*Ch'en-shu*, chap. 5.)
571	Tan-tan	(*Ch'en-shu*, chap. 5.)
581	Tan-tan	(*Ch'en-shu*, chap. 5.)
584	P'an-p'an	(*Ch'en-shu*, chap. 6.)
585	Tan-tan	(*Ch'en-shu*, chap. 6.)
608	Ch'ih-t'u	(*Sui-shu*, chap. 3.)
609	Ch'ih-t'u	(*Sui-shu*, chap. 3 and 82; *Pei-shih*, chap. 95; *T'ai-p'ing Yü Lan*, chap. 787 and *Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao*, chap. 331.)
610	Ch'ih-t'u	(*Sui-shu*, chap. 3.)
c. 616	Tan-tan	(*Sui-shu*, chap. 82 and *Pei-shih*, chap. 95.)
c. 616	P'an-p'an	(*Sui-shu*, chap. 82 and *Pei-shih*, chap. 95.)
635	P'an-p'an	(*T'ang-hui-yao*, chap. 99 and *Chiu T'ang Shu*, chap. 197.)
638	Chia-cha	(*Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao*, chap. 331.)
662	Ko-lo-she-fen	(*Ts'e-fu-yüan-kuei*, chap. 970).
666–7	Tan-tan	(*Hsin T'ang Shu*, chap. 222c.)
668–9	Tan-tan	(*Hsin T'ang Shu*, chap. 222c.)

Appendix 5

JOHN CRAWFURD'S DESCRIPTION OF THE RUINS OF ANCIENT SINGAPORE

from *Journal of an Embassy from the Governor-General of India to the Courts of Siam and Cochin China* (London, 1828), pp. 44–7.

February 3 [1822].—I walked this morning round the walls and limits of the ancient town of Singapore, for such in reality had been the site of our modern settlement. It was bounded to the east by the sea, to the north by a wall, and to the west by a salt creek or inlet of the sea. The inclosed space is a plain, ending in a hill of considerable extent, and a hundred and fifty feet in height. The whole is a kind of triangle, of which the base is the sea-side, about a mile in length. The wall, which is about sixteen feet in breadth at its base and at present about eight or nine in height, runs very near a mile from the sea-coast to the base of the hill, until it meets a salt marsh. As long as it continues in the plain, it is skirted by a little rivulet running at the foot of it, and forming a kind of moat; and where it attains the elevated side of the hill, there are apparent the remains of a dry ditch. On the western side, which extends from the termination of the wall to the sea, the distance, like that of the northern side, is very near a mile. This last has the natural and strong defence of a salt marsh, overflown at high-water, and of a deep and broad creek. In the wall there are no traces of embrasures or loop-holes; and neither on the sea-side, nor on that skirted by the creek and marsh, is there any appearance whatever of artificial defences. We may conclude from these circumstances, that the works of Singapore were not intended against fire-arms, or an attack by sea; or that if the latter, the inhabitants considered themselves strong in their naval force, and therefore thought any other defences in that quarter superfluous.

February 4.—On the stony point which forms the western side of the entrance of the salt creek, on which the modern town of Singapore is building, there was discovered, two years ago, a tolerably hard block of sand-stone, with an inscription upon it. This I examined early this morning. The stone, in shape, is a rude mass, and formed of the one-half of a great nodule broken into

two nearly equal parts by artificial means; for the two portions now face each other, separated at the base by a distance of not more than two feet and a half, and reclining opposite to each other at an angle of about forty degrees. It is upon the inner surface of the stone that the inscription is engraved. The workmanship is far ruder than any thing of the kind that I have seen in Java or India; and the writing, perhaps from time, in some degree, but more from the natural decomposition of the rock, so much obliterated as to be quite illegible as a composition. Here and there, however, a few letters seem distinct enough. The character is rather round than square. It is probably the Pali, or religious character used by the followers of Buddha, and of which abundant examples are to be found in Java and Sumatra; while no monuments exist in these countries in their respective vernacular alphabets. The only remains of antiquity at Singapore, besides this stone, and the wall and moat before mentioned, are contained on the hill before alluded to. After being cleared by us of the extensive forest which covered it, it is now clothed with a fine grassy sward, and forms the principal beauty of the new settlement. The greater part of the west and northern side of the mountain is covered with the remains of the foundations of buildings, some composed of baked brick of good quality. Among these ruins, the most distinguished are those seated on a square terrace, of about forty feet to a side, near the summit of the hill. On the edge of this terrace, we find fourteen large blocks of sandstone; which, from the hole in each, had probably been the pedestals of as many wooden-posts which supported the building. This shows us, at once, that the upper part of the structure was of perishable materials; an observation which, no doubt, applies to the rest of the buildings as well as to this. Within the square terrace is a circular inclosure, formed of rough sand-stones, in the centre of which is a well, or hollow, which very possibly contained an image; for I look upon the building to have been a place of worship, and, from its appearance, in all likelihood, a temple of Buddha. I venture farther to conjecture, that the other relics of antiquity on the hill, are the remains of monasteries of the priests of this religion. Another terrace, on the north declivity of the hill, nearly of the same size, is said to have been the burying-place of Iskandar Shah, King of Singapore. This is the prince whom tradition describes as having been driven from his throne by the Javanese, in the year 1252 of the Christian era, and who died at Malacca,

not converted to the Mohammedan religion, in 1274; so that the story is probably apocryphal. Over the supposed tomb of Iskandar, a rude structure has been raised, since the formation of the new settlement, to which Mohammedans, Hindus, and Chinese, equally resort to do homage. It is remarkable, that many of the fruit-trees cultivated by the ancient inhabitants of Singapore are still existing, on the eastern side of the hill, after a supposed lapse of near six hundred years. Here we find the durian, the rambutan, the duku, the shaddock, and other fruit-trees of great size; and so degenerated, except the two first, that the fruit is scarcely to be recognized.

Among the ruins are found various descriptions of pottery, some of which is Chinese, and some native. Fragments of this are in great abundance. In the same situation have been found Chinese brass coins of the tenth and eleventh centuries. The earliest is of the Emperor of Ching-chung, of the dynasty of Sung-chao, who died in the year 967. Another is of the reign of Jin-chung, of the same dynasty, who died in 1067; and a third, of that of Shin-chung, his successor, who died in 1085. The discovery of these coins affords some confirmation of the relations which fix the establishment of the Malays at Singapore, in the twelfth century. It should be remarked, in reference to this subject, that the coins of China were in circulation among all the nations of the Indian islands before they adopted the Mohammedan religion, or had any intercourse with Europeans. They are dug up in numbers in Java, and are still the only money used by the unconverted natives of Bali.

PART II

The Malay Peninsula as Known to the West

AN EXAMINATION OF THE GREEK AND LATIN RECORDS RELATING TO MALAYA PRIOR TO A.D. 1000

CHAPTER IX

'AT THE VERY RISING OF THE SUN'

WHEN Classical antiquity acquired its first vague notions of the Orient is lost in obscurity. Probably tales of the East filtered into the Mediterranean world even before prose writing began, for as early as 500 B.C. or thereabouts much-travelled Hecataeus of Miletus included in his *Description of the Earth* some not altogether untrustworthy information about India (Fig. 22).[1] A half-century or so later Herodotus was able to comment on the

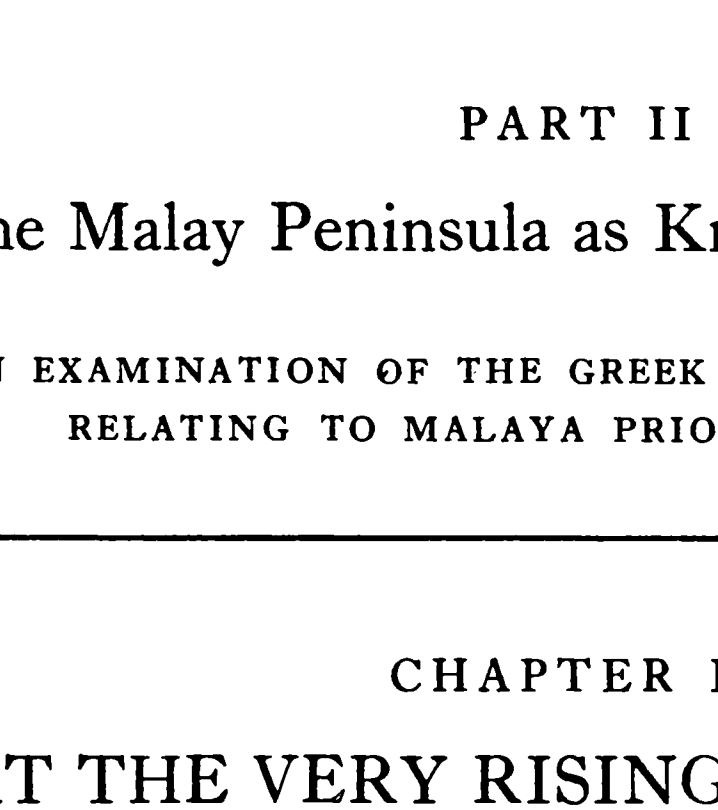


Fig. 22. Asia according to Hecataeus. Based on the text of F. Jacoby, Fragmente der griechischen Historiker, *vol. 1 (Berlin, 1923), pp. 1–47 and 317–75 and on E. H. Bunbury,* A history of ancient geography, *vol. 1 (London, 1879), Plate II.*

[1] This work, the first general geography, is no longer extant, but more than three hundred quotations are preserved, chiefly by late grammarians. The best edition of the text is that of Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, vol. i, pp. 1–47 and 317–75. See also Pearson, *Early Indian Historians*, pp. 25–108.

number and wealth of the Indians, and to give some account of the Indus and the Erythraean Sea (Indian Ocean),[1] but this was the farthest east to which his knowledge extended (Fig. 23). Beyond lay unknown and uninhabited deserts; ' . . . for the Indians live the furthest towards the east and the sunrise of all the Asians with whom we are acquainted or of whom we know by hearsay. Eastwards the country of the Indians is a sandy desert.'

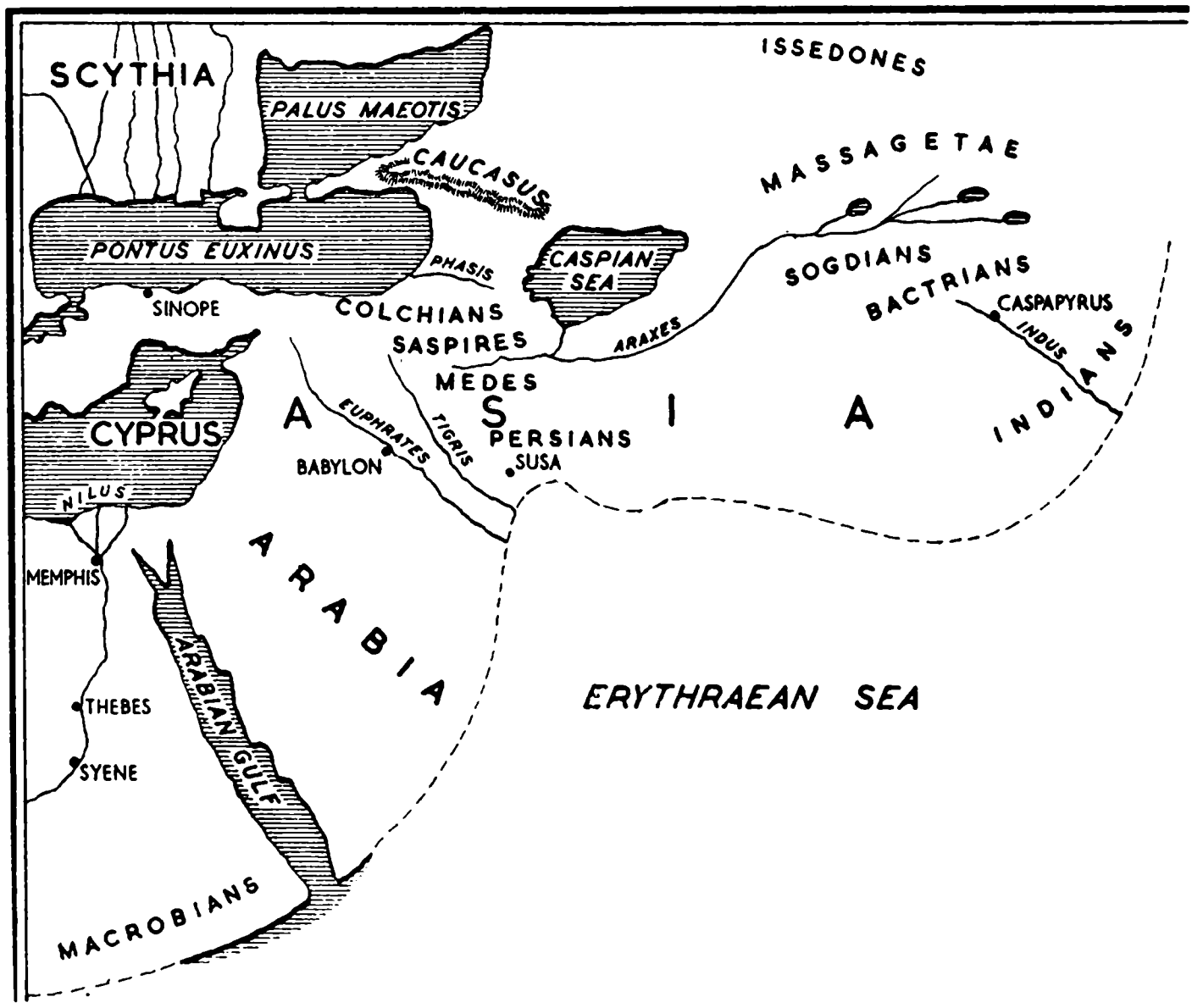


Fig. 23. Asia according to Herodotus. Based on E. H. Bunbury, A history of ancient geography, *vol. I (London, 1879), Plate III.*

The campaigns of Alexander the Great (334–323 B.C.) brought a vast increase of direct knowledge which, supplemented by the records of subsequent envoys and officials,[2] was eventually collated by Eratosthenes, librarian of Alexandria, c. 234–196 B.C. His ideas are summarized in the accompanying reconstruction of his world map (Fig. 24), where the peninsular nature of southern India is clearly evident, and Taprobane or Ceylon is known at least by

[1] Bk. III, 98–105.

[2] Notably Megasthenes, Deimachus and Patrocles.

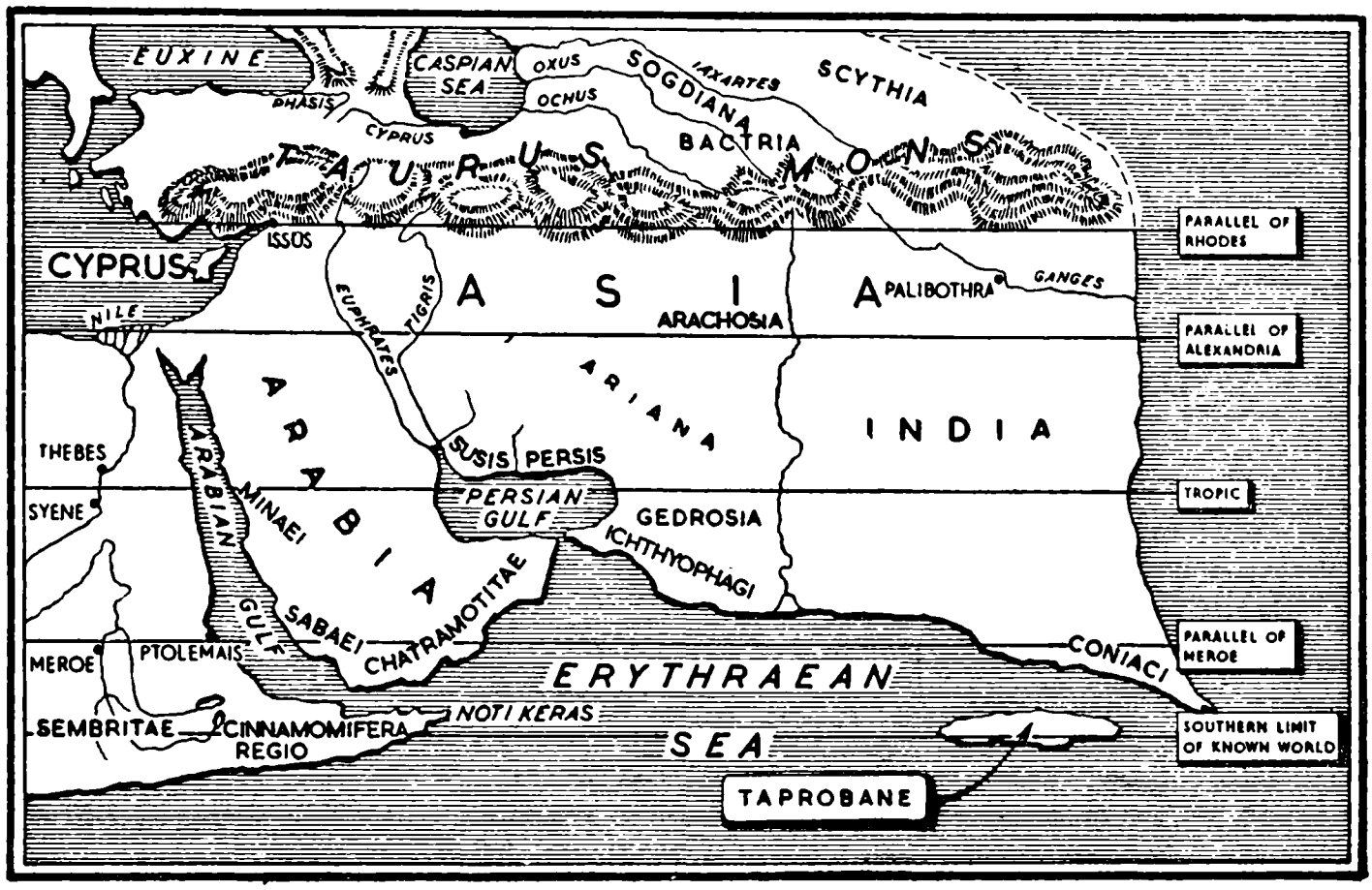


Fig. 24. Asia according to Eratosthenes. Based on E. H. Bunbury, A history of ancient geography, *vol. I (London, 1879), Plate X.*

name.[1] Here too is depicted the mouth of the Ganges, and we might expect that the shores of South-East Asia were about to enter the orbit of Western thought. But at this point the spirit of geographical inquiry failed and knowledge of the Indian Ocean congealed for a century and a half. The intervention of Rome in the affairs of Hellas and the decay of Greek rule east of the Hindu Kush turned Greek thought away from the East, while the practical Romans of the Republic had little taste for exploration. Even Strabo, whose comprehensive *Geography* 'surpasses all the geographical writings of antiquity, both in grandeur of plan, and in the abundance and variety of its materials',[2] recorded nothing of the Orient which was unknown to Eratosthenes (Fig. 25).

It is during the first century B.C. that we notice a change in this outlook. The rapid growth of wealth in Rome and her western provinces was inducing a demand for oriental luxuries on a vastly increased scale, which in turn was stimulating a recrudescence of interest in the Eastern trade. The disturbed condition of the Parthian frontier at this time, however, proscribed the land route

[1] See Thalamas, *Géographie d'Eratosthène* and Berger, *Fragmente des Eratosthenes.*

[2] Humboldt, *Cosmos*, vol. ii (English translation, London, 1850–8), p. 187.

Fig. 25. Asia according to Strabo. Based on E. H. Bunbury, A history of ancient geography, *vol. 2 (London, 1879), Plate III.*

and generated renewed interest in the Indian seas. The Romans appear not to have participated directly in the exploration of the Indian Ocean, which was left mainly to Greeks and Hellenized Levantines, but they did contribute prestige and capital to such voyages. The outcome of this maritime activity in the Indian Ocean was the discovery by Western sailors during the early years of the first century B.C. of the navigational use of the wind circulation over that region.[1] Henceforth merchants could sail direct from Africa and Arabia to the Indus, *Barygaza* and Malabar (Fig. 45), and during the early years of the Empire such voyages became commonplace. It was now only a matter of time before sailors' tales of the Far East were heard on the waterfronts of the Mediterranean.

The first Latin geographer extant to make specific reference to South-East Asia was Pomponius Mela, who wrote a popular compendium of geography which can be dated from internal evidence to A.D. 43. This work seems to have enjoyed a considerable reputation in the years following its publication, but on critical examination proves to be nothing more than a compilation with few pretensions to a scientific character. However, the growing interest in the Indian Ocean is reflected in an obscurely worded reference to a headland forming the south-eastern angle of Asia, together with the names *Chryse* and *Argyre*, both of which feature prominently in descriptions of Eastern Asia for the next thousand years (Fig. 26).

. . . a Gange ad Colida, nisi ubi magis quam ut habitetur exaestuat, atrae gentes et quodammodo Aethiopes. Ab Colide ad Tamum recta sunt litora, timidisque populi et marinis opibus adfatim dites.

Tamum promunturium est, quod Taurus adtollit. Colis alter Eoae partis angulus initiumque lateris ad meridiem versi.

Ad Tamum insula est Chryse, ad Gangem Argyre: altera aurei soli, ita veteres tradidere, altera argentei, atque ut maxime videtur aut ex re nomen aut ex vocabulo fabula est.

From the edition of Frick (Leipzig, 1880).

Apart from those areas too warm for human settlement, the region between the Indus and the Ganges is occupied by black peoples resembling Ethiopians. Between *Colis* and *Tamus* the coast runs straight. It is inhabited by retiring peoples who garner rich harvests from the sea.

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[1] For the date of this important event see Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 368–9. The discovery has hitherto been ascribed to a merchant captain, Hippalos, but Tarn suggests that this may have been the name of a legendary culture-hero or wind-god rather than of an historical person.

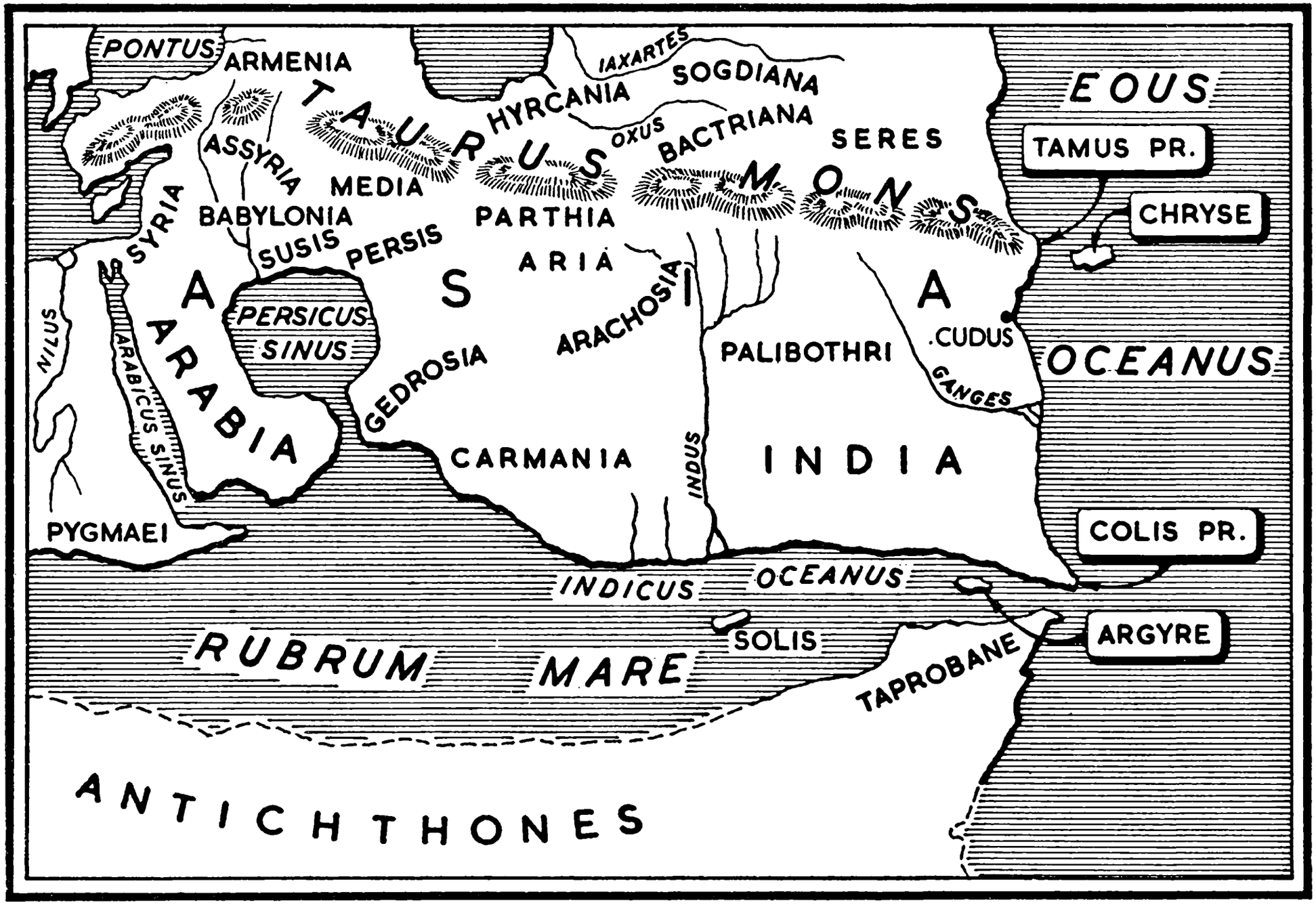

Fig. 26. Asia according to Pomponius Mela. *Redrawn from G. Coedès,* Textes d'auteurs grecs et latins relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient *(Paris, 1910), p. xiii.*

Tamus is a promontory formed by an extension of the Taurus [Mountains]. *Colis* marks the end of the eastern coast and the beginning of the western.

In the vicinity of Tamus is the island of *Chryse;* in the vicinity of the Ganges that of *Argyre.* According to olden writers, the soil of the former consists of gold, that of the latter is of silver; and it seems very probable that either the name arises from this fact or the legend derives from the name.

In that voluminous list of names which Pliny called a *Natural History* we find him uncritically referring to *Chryse* as both a promontory and an island in eastern Asia.

Naturalis Historia, Book VI, 21 (56)

Seres . . . commercia exspectant. Primum eorum noscitur flumen Psitharas, proximum Cambari, tertium Lanos, a quo promunturium Chryse, sinus Cirnaba, flumen Atianos, sinus et gens hominum Attacorarum, apricis ab omni noxio adflatu seclusa collibus . . .

The *Seres* (the Silk People=the Chinese) . . . wait for trade to come to them. The first river found in their territory is the *Psitharas;* the next is the *Cambari*, the third the *Lanos*, followed by the promontory of *Chryse*, the Bay of *Cirnaba*, the River *Atianos* and the tribe of the *Attacorae* on the bay of the same name, which is sheltered by sunny hills from every harmful blast. . .

Book VI, 23 (82)

Sed ante sunt aliae: Patale quam significavimus in ipsis faucibus Indi . . . extra ostium Indi Chryse et Argyre, fertilis metallis, ut credo: nam quod aliqui tradidere aureum argenteumque his solum esse haut facile crediderim.

Before [Ceylon] there are some other [islands]: *Patale*, which we have shown to be at the very mouth of the Indus . . . and off the mouth of the Indus, *Chryse* and *Argyre*, both of which I believe to be very rich in minerals—for it is far from easy to believe those writers who say there are only gold and silver mines.

It is unlikely that the rigmarole of names in the first of these notices will ever be elucidated with any certainty, but it would seem that Pliny intended to locate *Chryse* on the borders of the land of the *Seres*. The second passage is the usual garbled account of the countries beyond the Ganges which was current among Roman writers of the period. What is interesting about these two paragraphs is that Pliny seems to be attempting to combine two distinct traditions, one derived from the overland route across Central Asia and one from the sea-route, without realizing that they overlapped in South-East Asia.

A very different document is the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, a manual of navigation and trade in the Indian Ocean in the first century A.D.,[1] compiled by an anonymous Graeco-Egyptian skipper

[1] There has been a variety of opinions as to the precise date of the *Periplus*. The *Codex Pal. Graec. 398* (Heidelberg MS.) attributes the authorship to Arrian, who was governor of Cappadocia c. A.D. 131, but this is clearly erroneous. Schoff, in the introduction to his translation (pp. 7–15), proposed the date A.D. 60, but in a lesser known work revised it to the end of the first century (*JRAS*,

who had himself sailed in the Eastern service. In formal book-learning he was completely lacking, and his syntax was that of a man whose way of life had permitted him little leisure in which to acquire the tricks of style so beloved of the Hellenized literati. 'Written by a merchant for the use of merchants',[1] in the short space of sixty-six paragraphs the *Periplus* provides the most reliable description which has come down to us from antiquity of the coastal geography, ports, products and exports of the Indian Ocean. Unfortunately the author's personal experience seems to have extended only as far as *Nelkynda* (*Periplus*, paragraph 55) on the Malabar Coast, beyond which point his geography is indistinct, probably picked up from Eastern traders encountered in Southern India. As was to be expected in such circumstances the information acquired by our captain about the course of trade was more trustworthy than his geographical locations. The following passage describes a silent barter which took place somewhere on the borders of China.

Κατ' ἔτος δὲ παραγίνεται ἐπὶ τὴν συνορίαν τῆς Θινὸς ἔθνος τι, τῷ μὲν σώματι κολοβοὶ καὶ σφόδρα πλατυπρόσωποι, εν μοι εἰς τέλος τε αὐτοὺς λέγεσθαι Σησάτας, παρομοίους ἀνημέροις. Παραγίνονται σὺν γυναιξὶν καὶ τέκνοις, βαστάζοντες φορτία μεγάλα, ταρπόνας ὠμαμπελίνων παραπλησίας, εἶτεν ἐπιμένουσιν ἐπί τινα τόπον τῆς συνορίας αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Θινὸς καὶ ἑορτάζουσιν ἐπί τινας ἡμέρας, ὑποστρώσαντες ἑαυτοῖς τὰς ταρπόνας, καὶ ἀπαίρουσιν εἰς τὰ ἴδια εἰς τοὺς ἐσωτέρους τόπους. Οἱ ταῦτα δοκοῦντες καὶ τότε παραγίνονται ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους καὶ συλλέγουσι τὰ ἐκείνων ὑποστρώματα καὶ ἐξινιάσαντες καλάμους τοὺς λεγομένους πέτρους, ἐπὶ λεπτὸν ἐπιδιπλώσαντες τὰ φύλλα καὶ σφαιροειδῆ ποιοῦντες διείρουσιν ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν καλάμων ἴναις. Γίνεται δὲ γένη τρία· ἐκ μέν τοῦ μείζονος φύλλου τὸ ἀδρόσφαιρον μαλάβαθρον λεγόμενον, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὑποδεεστέρου τὸ [ὑπο]μεσόσφαιρον, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ μικροτέρου τὸ μικρόσφαιρον. Ἔνθεν τὰ τρία μέρη τοῦ μαλαβάθρου γίνεται καὶ τότε φέρεται εἰς τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ὑπὸ τῶν κατεργαζομένων αὐτά.[2]

1917, p. 827). J. G. C. Anderson (*CAH*, vol. x, 1934, pp. 253 and 880 *et seq.*) showed that the *Periplus* could not have been earlier than A.D. 40, a date with which Charlesworth (*CQ*, vol. 22, 1928, p. 93) and Tarn, (*The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 148, note 4) are in substantial agreement. More recently Palmer has shown that some of the Indian sections refer to the period A.D. 110–5 (*CQ*, vol. xli, 1947, pp. 136–41). It would seem most probable that the work is actually a compilation of material acquired throughout the second half of the first century A.D.

[1] Bunbury, *History of ancient geography*, vol. ii, p. 443.

[2] From the text of H. Frisk, *HA*, vol. xxxiii (1927), pp. 21–2.

Each year a tribe of men with short bodies and broad, flat faces, and of a peaceable disposition, gather on the borders of the land of *This* (China). They are known as *Besatae*, and are almost wholly uncivilized. With their wives and children, and carrying large packs and plaited baskets of what look like green vine-leaves, they assemble at a place between their own country and the land of *This*. There they spread out the baskets under themselves as mats and feast for several days, after which they return to their own country in the interior. Then the local inhabitants, who have been watching them, come and collect their mats, and pick out from the fibres the strands which they call *petri*. They arrange the leaves close together in several layers and roll them into balls, which they transfix with fibres from the mats. There are three sorts: those made from the largest leaves are called large-ball *malabathron;* those from the smaller are called medium-ball *malabathron*, and those from the smallest, small-ball *malabathron*. There are thus three sorts of *malabathron*. It is imported into India by those folk who prepare it.

We cannot agree with Bunbury that this passage 'has a very fabulous air'.[1] Indeed its chief interest lies in the possible correspondence of the dwarfs with certain tribes which occur in both the Ptolemaic *Geography* and the Chinese dynastic annals.[2]

Some half a century later Classical cartography reached its culmination with the work of the Alexandrine Greek, Claudius Ptolemy, whose name is associated with the *Geographike Huphegesis*. Little or nothing is known of the life of this scholar, but from certain internal evidence in his works it is possible to infer that he was writing in the middle of the second century A.D. Some observations recorded in his *System of Astronomy*, for example, can be referred to the period A.D. 127–41, while the death of Antoninus Pius in A.D. 161 is mentioned in one of his later works. We now know that Ptolemy himself was responsible for only part of the *Geography*, the longer and more valuable sections being made up of later accretions. Yet, although Ptolemy himself added nothing to Western knowledge of lands beyond the Ganges, his method was original and marks an advance which was not to be surpassed for a thousand years or more.

After Ptolemy Classical geography declined rapidly. As early as the second century one Dionysius, surnamed Periegetes or the Tourist, undertook a metrical summary of received geographical knowledge.[3] Not for him a tedious labouring for exactitude and truth, but a desire 'only to impress upon the minds of his readers

[1] *History of ancient geography*, vol. ii, p. 477.

[2] pp. 158 below.

[3] His *Descriptive Account of the Habitable World* contains an acrostic showing that he worked in Alexandria under Hadrian (A.D. 117–38).

such a general notion of the subject as might enable them to appear to advantage by showing their superior knowledge among the ignorant.'[1] The old and fabled Island of *Chryse* was eminently suited for inclusion in such a work, and lines 587–90 read as follows:

> *'Αλλ' ὁπόταν Σκυθικοῖο βαθὺν ῥόον 'Ωκεανοῖο*
> *Νηὶ τάμῃς, προτέρω δὲ πρὸς ἠῶην ἄλα κάμψῃς,*
> *Χρυσείην τοι νῆσον ἄγει πόρος, ἔνθα καὶ αὐτοῦ*
> *'Αντολίῃ καθαροῖο φαείνεται ἠελίοιο.*

And when your keel has ploughed the deep waters of the Scythian Main, your route turns toward the Eastern Sea and brings you to the Island of *Chryse*, situated at the very rising of the sun (Fig. 27).

Fig. 27. Asia according to Dionysius Periegetes. Based on E. H. Bunbury, A history of ancient geography, *vol. 2 (London, 1879), Plate II.*

[1] Translation by Bunbury, *History of ancient geography*, vol. ii, p. 480.

In succeeding centuries this account of Dionysius provided the material for two more popular geographies. About A.D. 370 Avienus paraphrased it in execrable Latin verse under the title *Description of the World*. The passage above there appears as:

> . . . Tum cynaeis erepit ab undis
> Insula, quae prisci signatur nominis usu
> Aurea, quod fulvo sol hic magis orbe rubescat.

. . . Then there emerges from the azure waves an island which by ancient usage is known as 'the Golden', because there the yellow orb of the sun glows with a ruddier light.

In the early sixth century, the grammarian Priscianus published another Latin translation, also in verse, but following the Periegetic text more closely.

> At navem pelago flectenti aquilonis ab oris
> Ad solem calido referentem lumen ab ortu
> Aurea spectetur tibi pinguibus insula glebis.

But if, on leaving the northern climes, you direct your vessel across the sea towards the light of the sun at its fiery rising, you will see the Golden Island with its fertile soils.

After these precious versifiers it is something of a relief to turn to the third-century *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilia* of Solinus. This is, as its title indicates, a compendium of wonders arranged within a geographical framework. There is no new material; in fact, nine-tenths of its information is copied from Pliny, but at least we are spared excruciating verse.

Extra Indi ostium sunt insulae duae Chryse et Argyre adeo fecundae copia metallorum, ut plerique eas aurea sola prodiderint habere et argentea.

Off the mouth of the Indus are the two islands of *Chryse* and *Argyre*, where the reserves of metals are so abundant that most authors have considered the soil itself to be of gold and silver.

Half a century or so later Palladius quoted Scholastikos of Thebes as saying:

Ἀπὸ τῆς αὐξούμης εὑρών τινας πλοιαρίῳ διαβαίνοντας Ἰνδοὺς ἐμπορίας χάριν, ἐπειράθην ἐνδότερον ἀπελθεῖν· καὶ ἔφθασα ἐγγὺς τῶν καλουμένων Βισάδων τῶν τὸ πέπερι συναγόντων. Ἔθνος δέ ἐστιν ἐκεῖνο πάνυ σμικρότατον, καὶ ἀδρανέστατον, λιθίνοις σπηλαίοις ἐνοικοῦντες, οἵτινες καὶ κρημνοβατεῖν ἐπίστανται διὰ τὴν τοῦ τόπου συστροφὴν, καὶ τὸ πέπερι οὕτως ἀπὸ τῶν θάμνων συνάγουσι. Δενδρύφια γάρ ἐστι κολοβὰ, ὡς ἔλεγεν ὁ Σχολαστικὸς ἐκεῖνος· εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ Βισάδες ἀνθρωπάρια κολοβὰ, μεγαλοκέφαλα, ἄκαρτα καὶ ἀπλότριχα.

When I noticed that some Indians used to arrive in small boats from *Axum* to trade, I attempted to penetrate further and arrived among the pepper-gathering *Bisades*. They are a very small and debilitated people, who live in rock-shelters. By reason of the configuration of their country they are adept at climbing steep crags so that they can collect pepper from the tree. This, according to Scholastikos, is a small shrub. The *Bisades* are a rachitic and deformed people with large heads. They are unshaven and have lank hair.[1]

Now these *Bisades* are almost certainly the *Besatae* of the *Periplus* (page 131 above) and probably the *Saesadai* of the *Geography* (page 158 below), who in turn may well be a folk described in Chinese records as inhabitants of the Malay Peninsula. This chain of correspondences is discussed in Chapter X.

By the fourth century much that had been known to the Classical geographers had been entirely forgotten. The Peutinger Table,[2] a route-map compiled in its original form in the third or fourth centuries, has no *Chryse* or *Argyre* and compresses *Sera Maior* into a narrow territory between the Ganges and Turkestan. Henceforth Eratosthenes and Strabo were displaced as authorities by Pomponius Mela and Pliny, and reasoned conclusions overwhelmed by imaginative follies. Owing to Rome's commercial decline, the narrowing of her frontiers and the breakdown of her political organization, the geographical horizon of the ancient world was contracting, a process in no way hindered by the utilitarian bias of the Latin mind. But this negative approach to cartographic progress was succeeded by an ecclesiastical expediency which positively discouraged scientific enquiry.[3] The Church, whose

[1] St. Ambrose also prepared a Latin version of Scholastikos as follows:

. . . ut narrabat Scholasticus; et quod de Aethiopiae et Persiae finibus et Auxumitarum locis ibi mercatores emendi, vendendi permutandaeque rei gratia conveniunt; et quod piper ibi nascitur, in magnaque colligitur copia. Ipsa autem admodum parva et inutilis gens est, quae intra speluncas saxeas vivit, et per praecipitia magna discurrere natura patriae edocta consuevit. Piper autem cum ramusculis suis colligitur: ipsas autem arbores quasi quasdam humiles ac parvulas stirpes esse dicebat. Nam et ipsos exigues homunculos esse, et grandia quaedam capita asserit habere cum laevibus et detonsis capillis.

. . . as Scholasticus used to relate: merchants from the borders of Ethiopia and Persia and from the territories of the Axumites used to assemble there to sell, buy and barter. For this region produces pepper which is collected in great quantities. The inhabitants [of the country] are a very small and feckless people, dwelling in rock-shelters and thoroughly accustomed, from the nature of their land, to travelling among precipices. They gather the pepper together with the twigs. [Scholasticus] used to relate that the pepper trees were small, stunted shrubs. The people, he asserted, were tiny dwarfs with large, ill-favoured heads.

[2] So-called from the name of its former owner, Konrad Peutinger of Augsburg.

[3] Cp. St. Basil the Great of Caesarea who, in the fourth century, prefers to be guided by 'the simplicity of faith rather than by the demonstrations of reason'. Quoted by Kimble in *Geography in the Middle Ages*, p. 33.

canon encompassed revealed doctrines of the origin, shape, movement and peopling of the world, would not tolerate alternative explanations of these phenomena and the inerrancy of Biblical cosmogony became an article of faith among encyclopedists for the next thousand years. Between the fourth and sixth centuries the information available to the West about even India itself was shrinking, and this at the very time of the brilliant Gupta renaissance. Such information as the writers of the period vouchsafe to us about South-East Asia is meagre in the extreme. Typical is the following quotation from the *Satyricon*, or *Nuptials of Philology and Mercury*[1] of Marcianus Capella, who was writing probably in the early fifth century.

Dehinc India . . . Ibi etiam insulas duas auri argentique metallis ac fetura praedicandas, etiam vocabulis approbatur. Nam una Chrysea, Argyrea altera nuncupatur.

Next is India . . . There are also two islands celebrated for their mines and for their production of gold and silver—as their names attest, for one is called *Chrysea* and the other *Argyrea*.

Compiled at approximately the same period, but of somewhat greater reliability, is Martianus of Heraclea's *Periplus of the Outer Sea*. He claims to have followed the 'most divine and wise Ptolemy', but adds some information which is missing from that part of the *Geography* written by the Alexandrine himself.[2] Such, for instance, are Martian's remarks on the *Golden Khersonese*, the first specific mention of the Malay Peninsula in Western literature.

Ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐκτὸς Γάγγου Ἰνδικῇ ἡ Χρυσῆ καλουμένη χερσόνησός ἐστι· μεθ' ἣν ὁ καλούμενος Μέγας κόλπος· οὗ κατὰ τὸ μεσαίτατον οἱ ὅροι τῆς ἐκτὸς Γάγγου Ἰνδικῆς καὶ τῶν Σινῶν εἰσιν. Εἶθ' ἑξῆς τὸ τῶν Σινῶν ἐστιν ἔθνος, καὶ ἡ τούτων μητρόπολις, ἥτις Θῖναι προσαγορεύεται, ὅριον τῆς ἐγνωσμένης γῆς καὶ ἀγνώστου τυγχάνουσα.

In Trans-Gangetic India is the Golden Khersonese, and beyond is the Great Gulf, in the middle of which is the frontier between Trans-Gangetic India and the *Sinai*. Then come the *Sinai* and their capital, called *Thinai*. It is the boundary between lands known and unknown.

In a second periplus Martian adds further information in the itemized style beloved of authors of the time.

[1] *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*. This work became a standard authority during the Middle Ages. The quotation is from the edition of F. Eyssenhardt (Leipzig, 1866).

[2] Though of course, such material may have been already admitted to the Ptolemaic corpus by the fifth century.

Ἔστι δὲ τῆς ἐκτὸς Γάγγου ποταμοῦ Ἰνδικῆς τὸ μὲν μῆκος, ᾗ μακροτάτη τυγχάνει, σταδίων ,,α,αχν΄· τὸ δὲ πλάτος, ᾗ πλατυτάτη ἐστὶ, σταδίων ,,α,θ. Ἔχει δὲ ἔθνη ἤτοι σατραπείας ν΄, πόλεις δὲ καὶ κώμας ἐπισήμους καὶ ἐμπόρια ξζ΄, ὄρη ἐπίσημαιη΄, ἀκρωτήρια ἐπίσημα ε΄, λιμένας ἐπισήμους γ΄, κόλπον μέγιστον α΄, νήσους ἐπισήμους λ΄.

Trans-Gangetic India has a maximum length of 11,650 *stades*, and a maximum breadth of 19,000 *stades*. It comprises 50 tribes or satrapies; 67 towns, important villages or markets; 18 important mountains; 5 noteworthy capes; 3 notable ports; one large bay; and 30 important islands.[1]

It is to be expected that St. Isidore of Seville, 'the author of the most representative compilation of the Middle Ages', will repeat the remarks of Solinus, one of his main authorities,[2] on the subject of *Chryse* and *Argyre*, but it is unrealistic to look for new material in his writings.

Chryse et Argyre insulae in Indico Oceano sitae, adeo fecundae copia metallorum, ut plerique eas auream superficiem et argenteam habere prodiderint, unde et vocabula sortitae sunt.[3]

Chryse and *Argyre*, islands situated in the Indian Ocean, are so rich in mines that, according to most writers, their soil is of gold and silver—whence are derived their names.

Of much the same character is the singular schedule of an anonymous Ravennese who, in the seventh century, compressed the geography of the known world into a series of tables. His remarks on South-East Asia are brief:

Item est insula in eandem partem in eodem Oceano quae dicitur Chrisi, id est aurosa.[4]

And in the same part of the same ocean there is the Island of *Chryse*, that is to say, the Golden.

This catalogue of probable and possible notices of Malaya in the Classical and early Medieval periods is not a long one, and several famous encyclopedists who might have been expected to contribute are missing, notably Orosius, Cosmas Indicopleustes, and possibly Raban Maur. Neither can it be claimed that these passages are very informative about conditions in Malaya. Rather are they collector's

[1] From the edition of Müller, *Geographici Graeci Minores*, vol. i, pp. 544–76.

[2] Isidore's debt to Solinus and Orosius is self-evident to any reader of his *Etymologiae*, and in his *Quaestiones in vetus Testamentum* he declares, 'My voice is but their tongue'. Quoted in Kimble, *Geography in the Middle Ages*, p. 28.

[3] From the text of W. M. Lindsay (Oxford, 1911).

[4] From the text of Pinder and Parthey, *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia* (Berlin, 1860).

pieces delighting the heart of the antiquary by their quaintness, and valuable for the light they throw on Western knowledge of the Peninsula during these early centuries. For the best informed account of early Malaya by a Western hand we must turn to the Ptolemaic *Geography*, a subject which requires a chapter to itself.

CHAPTER X

THE GOLDEN KHERSONESE

THE most detailed account of the Malay Peninsula—and indeed of South-East Asia—to be found in the ancient literature of the West is that which occurs in the *Geographike Huphegesis* or *Guide to Geography*. This work has been the subject of protracted controversy which even yet is far from exhausted, but no one disputes that the most comprehensive interpretation of those sections relating to Malaya has come from the pen of Dato Sir Roland Braddell. Many of the ideas discussed in this chapter stem directly from that scholar's pioneer researches into the Dark Ages of Malayan history.

The 'Geography'

In former days the *Geography* was universally ascribed to the astronomer, Claudius Ptolemy, who was writing in the middle of the second century, A.D., but since the publication of Leo Bagrow's papers on the origin of that work, this simple idea can no longer be accepted.[1] In its present form the *Geography* was probably compiled by an otherwise unknown Byzantine author of the tenth or eleventh century, who based his work on principles laid down by Ptolemy and even incorporated some of Ptolemy's original writings, while the extant manuscript maps were not drawn until towards the end of the thirteenth century.

The *Geography* comprises eight books. The first, which is substantially the work of Ptolemy himself, is a discussion of the principles and methods of map making; the next five and part of the seventh consist of tables of the latitudes and longitudes, expressed in degrees and minutes, of more than eight thousand places. These were compiled and arranged according to a crude regional classification by the anonymous Byzantine geographer. In the concluding part of Book VII this information is summarized briefly, together with a general description of the dimensions of

[1] For the making of the *Geography* see Bagrow, *GA*, vol. xxvii (1945), pp. 318–87.

the known world. Book VIII explains how to divide the world-map into twenty-six regional maps, and appends Ptolemy's original short list of co-ordinates, in which latitude is denoted by the length of the longest day and longitude as the difference in time of a particular place from Alexandria.

The first mention of the Golden Khersonese is a passing reference in Chapter 1 of Book VII, in a list of co-ordinates relating to Peninsular India.

Ἀλοσύγνι ἐμπόριον	*ρλε ια γ′*	
καί τὸ ἀφετήριον τῶν εἰς τὴν Χρυσῆν Χερσόνησον εἰσπλεόντων	*ρλς γ′ ια γ′*[1]	
Alosygni, an emporium . . .	135° E;	11° 20′ N.
and the place of embarkation for those who sail for the *Golden Khersonese*	136° 20′ E;	11° 20′ N.

Both Berthelot[2] and Braddell[3] locate this port in the vicinity of the Godavari delta.

Then nothing is heard of the Golden Khersonese until we turn to Chapter 2 of Book VII, where we find a list of its coastal features:

	Χρυσῆς Χερσονήσου		
Τάκωλα ἐμπόριον	*ρξ L′*		*δ δ′*
τὸ μετ' αὐτὴν ἀκρωτήριον	*ρνη γ′*		*β γ′*
Χρυσοάνα ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί	*ρνθ*		*α*
Σάβαρα ἐμπόριον	*ρξ*	*νότ.*	*γ*
Παλάνδου ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί	*ρξ L′*	*νότ.*	*β*
Μαλεουκόλον ἄκρον	*ρξγ*	*νότ*	*β*
Ἀττάβα ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί	*ρξδ*	*νότ.*	*α*
Κώλη πόλις	*ρξδ γ′ ἰσημ.*		
Περιμούλα	*ρξγ*		*δ′ β γ′*
Περιμουλικὸς κόλπος	*ρξβ*		*L′ δ*

[1] This and the following extracts are from the text of Renou.

[2] *L'Asie ancienne*, p. 312 and Fig. 12.

[3] *JMBRAS*, vol. xiv, pt. 3 (1936), pp. 17–18.

In the *Golden Khersonese:*	
Takola, an emporium	160° 30′E; 4° 15′N.
The promontory situated beyond this town	158° 20′E; 2° 20′N.
The estuary of the *Khrysoanas* river	159°E; 1°N.
Sabara, an emporium	160°E; 3°S.
The estuary of the *Palandas* river	160° 30′E; 2°S.
Cape *Maleoukolon*	163°E; 2°S.
The estuary of the *Attabas* river	164°E; 1°S.
The town of *Kole*	164°E; 0°
Perimula	163° 15′E; 2° 20′N.
The *Perimulikos* gulf	162° 30′E; 4°N.

A few folios later there is a description of the river system of the Golden Khersonese:

Καὶ οἱ τήν Χρυσῆν Χερσόνησον διαρρέοντες καὶ ἀλλήλοις συμβάλλοντες πρότερον, ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπερκειμένων τῆς Χερσονήσου ῥακῶν ἀνωνύμων·

ὁ εἷς ῥέων εἰς τὴν Χερσόνησον πρότερον ἀποσχίζει τὸν Ἀττάβαν περί

ρξα L′ γ

τὸν δὲ χρυσόαναν περί

ρξα α γ′

ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς γίγνεται ὁ Παλάνδας.

As the river which rises in the nameless mountains that dominate the *Golden Khersonese* flows through the Peninsula, it divides first
to form the *Attabas* at 161° 30′E; 3°N;
then the *Khrysoanas* at 161°E; 1° 20′N.
The rest becomes the *Palandas.*

Finally the survey of the Golden Khersonese is completed with a list of inland towns:

καὶ ἐν τῇ Χρυσῇ Χερσονήσῳ

Καλόγκα	*ρξβ*		*α*		*γ′.*
Κογκοναγάρα	*ρξ*		*β*		
Θάρρα	*ρξγ*	*δ′*	*βόρ.*	*α*	*γ′*
Παλάνδα	*ρξα*	*δ′*	*νότ.*	*α*	*γ′*

And in the *Golden Khersonese:*	
Kalonka	162°E; 1° 20′N.
Konkonagara	160°E; 2°N.
Tharra	163° 15′E; 1° 20′N.
Palanda	161° 15′E; 1° 20′S.

At no point does the *Geography* mention either the inhabitants or the products of the Golden Khersonese; neither does it describe the appearance of the countryside.

The Identification of Ptolemaic Place-Names in South-East Asia

At first glance it might be thought that the Ptolemaic latitudes and longitudes were sufficiently precise to enable us to locate the places mentioned in the *Geography* with a fair degree of accuracy. A few preliminary adjustments would be necessary but only of an elementary nature. It is well-known, for example, that Ptolemy, followed by the anonymous Byzantine scholar, adopted the erroneous computation of Posidonius (c. 135–50 B.C.) that the circumference of the earth was 180,000 *stadia*,[1] from which he deduced that one degree of latitude or longitude at the Equator was equivalent to 500 *stadia*. It was, in fact, equal to 600 *stadia*, and this error accumulated progressively eastwards from the prime meridian until it reached its maximum in eastern Asia. Second, owing to the fact that Ptolemy had no real knowledge of the Fortunate Isles, he misplaced his prime meridian to such an extent that all his longitudes reckoned eastwards were about seven degrees less than true. Third, Ptolemy had no astronomical observations from the region of the Equator, so that he was forced to calculate its position relative to the northern tropic. Unfortunately, as his degree was only five-sixths of a true degree, he misplaced his Equator some 230 nautical miles too far to the north. These errors were constant and this led several scholars to deduce mathematical formulae to convert Ptolemaic co-ordinates to true latitudes and longitudes.[2] However, for reasons to be discussed below, these mathematical identifications were far from successful, with the result that early investigators in this field came to regard Ptolemy's trans-Gangetic geography as a fantastic imposition on the credulity of his readers. Gerini summed up this point of view in 1909 in the following words: ' . . . the severest strictures were passed on the great cosmologist and geographer, to the effect that he had made a mess of his eastern longitudes and latitudes, coined names of cities and peoples out of his fancy, confused islands and continents, making pretence to a knowledge of regions which his contemporaries had never reached,

[1] The Olympic *stadium* is equivalent to 600 Greek, or 606¾ English, feet. Thus 10 *stadia* are approximately equal to one nautical mile.

[2] Notably Gerini, *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia*, pp. 9–25; Rylands, *The Geography of Ptolemy elucidated*, pp. 36–80; and Berthelot, *L'Asie ancienne centrale et sud-orientale d'après Ptolémée*, pp. 120–45.

and on which they possessed but second-hand information of the vaguest possible character'.[1]

The principal cause of this failure to elucidate the Ptolemaic enigma was an erroneous conception of the value of the latitudes and longitudes, which were treated as scientifically acquired facts. On the contrary the Ptolemaic co-ordinates could not have been based on astronomical observation. In the ancient world latitudes were obtained by measuring either the altitude of *Polaris* or the duration of the longest day. Within the frontiers of the Roman Empire such observations may have been fairly frequent, but beyond the *limes* they could hardly have existed at all. Indian and Arab mariners of this early period, for example, have left us no records of such observations while the Chinese, although they had developed the concept of celestial latitudes, made no use of this idea in their theory of navigation. Moreover, even in the Western world the instruments available for such observations were of very limited accuracy, yet the *Geography* recorded latitudes to within five minutes. A Ptolemaic longitude was even less reliable. In theory it represented the difference in time between the place in question and the prime meridian passing through the Fortunate Isles (vaguely identified with Madeira and the Canary Islands), but until accurate chronometers were invented some hundreds of years later such a calculation could be little more than an informed guess. Clearly the latitudes and longitudes which the *Geography* recorded for South-East Asia were obtained by methods other than that of astronomical observation.

Much of the confusion which clouds this subject has arisen through the practice of referring to Ptolemy as a 'geographer' in the modern sense of the term. This he most certainly was not, for he evinced no interest in the countries of the world as such and scorned descriptive matter. Rather was he a practical astronomer seeking to extend and refine his observations. As these varied according to the position of the observer on the surface of the earth, so was Ptolemy's problem obvious and exigent, namely to construct a more accurate map of the world than had hitherto existed. His method is set out in Chapter 4 of Book I.

'. . . if visitors to different countries had made similar observations, we should have been able to construct a definitive map of the world; but only Hipparchus

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[1] *Researches*, p. 2.

has recorded for us altitudes of the North Polar Star and noted which places are situated in similar latitudes (and then for only a few of the immense number of positions needed to construct a map of the world): while a few later writers have noted that certain places are situated on the same meridian . . . but distances between points, especially from east to west, have been calculated only approximately . . . so that the proper method of constructing a world map would be first to plot those positions fixed by accurate observation, and then to manipulate the data for positions obtained from other sources so as to fit them into this framework with the least possible distortion.'[1]

In the absence of adequate astronomical (or as the *Geography* calls it, meteoroscopic) data, when fixing positions Ptolemy had to rely mainly on times and distances recorded by travellers (that is, on geometric data). Within the confines of the Roman Empire, overland distances were known fairly accurately, but the vagaries of wind and weather and the lack of compass and log rendered marine itineraries, particularly those outside the trade-wind belt, prodigious sources of error. And it was with such voyages that the author of the *Geography* was mainly concerned in Book VII, for his main positions in South-East Asia were coastal and his informants seem to have been almost exclusively seamen. The sailing times and distances which they recorded must have been extremely variable, especially after they had passed Achin Head, but the editor reduced them all to an average of 516 *stadia* a day. He then made some effort to reconcile the positions obtained in this way with 'authority', that is, with the conclusions of earlier writers of repute. Having constructed his world map from such data, he read off and recorded the supposed latitudes and longitudes of some eight thousand selected places. Thus, his list of latitudes, far from constituting the data from which his map was constructed, partake rather of the nature of an index to it.

Scholars who have sought to devise formulae to convert Ptolemaic co-ordinates to true latitudes and longitudes have failed to take account of the extent to which these positions were based, not on astronomical observation, but on times and distances culled from itineraries. For such materials there is, and can be, no correction factor of universal application. Such a formula would have to take account of the meanderings of roads and rivers, of inequalities of surface, the physique of the travellers and their animals, and of irregularities of wind force and direction, as well as of the frequency

[1] I have tried to render this turgid and involved passage into easily intelligible English. A literal translation may be conveniently consulted in Bunbury, *A History of Ancient Geography*, vol. ii, pp. 554–5.

with which the route was used.[1] Clearly Ptolemaic co-ordinates are unreliable guides to the identification of place-names in South-East Asia. In the Mediterranean world they may serve this purpose,[2] but beyond the Parthian frontier who can suppose that astronomical observations were other than very rare? In fact, had they existed at all Ptolemy could hardly have failed to detect his rapidly increasing errors of scale in that part of his map.

Having emancipated ourselves from the tyranny of the Ptolemaic co-ordinates, we now have a wider choice of location for his South-East Asian place-names and are free to give greater weight to other relevant evidence.

The Golden Khersonese

There has been considerable diversity of opinion in the interpretation of this name. Several early workers in this field who devised correction factors to convert the Ptolemaic co-ordinates to true latitudes and longitudes came to the conclusion that the Golden Khersonese was in Lower Burma. There was, too, apparent confirmatory evidence of this identification. Not only was there a Taik-Kulā still in existence near Ayetthema in the Sittōng subdivision of the Shwegyin district, but the most reasonable interpretation of the river system of the Golden Khersonese as depicted in the *Geography* seemed to be to regard it as a single river branching into distributaries at the head of its delta (Frontispiece), and these circumstances were best reproduced in Lower Burma. Lassen, for example, adopted this identification,[3] as did also Sir Henry Yule,[4] McCrindle,[5] St. John[6] and Kanakasabhai.[7]

In this century belief in the infallibility of the Ptolemaic latitudes and longitudes has waned and writers have, albeit in a rather hesitant manner, usually identified the Golden Khersonese

[1] The author of the *Geography* himself recognized this defect in the construction of his map and Chap. 2, Book I is his apologia.

[2] Though had they played any real part in the construction of the maps, the island of Elba would hardly have been recorded twice, once under a Latin, and once under a Greek name (BK. III, Chap. 1).

[3] *Indische-Alterthumskunde*, vol. 3.

[4] 'Map of Ancient India from Classical Sources', in Smith, *An Atlas of Ancient Geography, Biblical and Classical* (London, 1874).

[5] *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*.

[6] St. John, *Actes du Onzième Congrès International des Orientalistes*, Section 2, pp. 217–33.

[7] *MR*, (1902), p. 25.

with the Malay Peninsula. The reasons for this seem to me unassailable. In the first place the Greek word *Χερσονήσος* means 'peninsula', and was in common use in the ancient world to denote such features.[1] If we re-draw the Ptolemaic map of Trans-Gangetic India from the data contained in the tables, the general agreement between it and an outline of the mainland of South-East Asia is too complete to be explained by coincidence alone. There is fair agreement among scholars as to the identification of Ptolemaic names on the coast of India, and in particular the Ganges delta is a landmark about which there can be no dispute. Thence in an eastward direction the *Geography* traces out the major features of the coast of peninsular South-East Asia. The Bay of Bengal, the Burmese deltas, the Gulf of Martaban, the Malay Peninsula, the Gulf of Siam, the rivers of Indo-China, all are clearly recognizable in the Ptolemaic delineation once we have abandoned any attempt to reconcile latitudes and longitudes with reality. There can be no doubt that Ptolemy's map was compiled from authentic information, and it is impossible to believe that he was so mistaken as to regard Lower Burma as the southernmost point of Asia.

Second, the combined testimony of references in early Chinese, Indian and Arab accounts locates at least two of the Ptolemaic place-names on the Peninsula. Third, the designation 'golden' agrees well with what we know of the early economic importance of the Peninsula. Today the Malay Peninsula does not rank as an important source of gold, but this metal was a much rarer commodity in the ancient world than at present, so that primitive and tedious methods of working it were that much more profitable.[2] The association of the Peninsula with the precious metal persisted into the seventeenth century when Eredia described the mines of Patani and Pahang,[3] and we find it occupying an important place in the accounts of even eighteenth and nineteenth century writers.[4]

[1] Well-known examples are the Thracian Khersonese, the Heraclean Khersonese, the Cnidian Khersonese, and the Cimbrican Khersonese.

[2] The principal gold deposits of Malaya occur in the Raub Series of Carboniferous age, which extends in a belt from Kĕlantan, through western Pahang and eastern Nĕgri Sĕmbilan to Malacca. Gold can also be panned in many of the Malayan rivers (Cp. Fig. 3).

[3] *Declaraçam de Malaca e India Meridional com o Cathay*, chap. 22, *and Informação da Aurea Chersoneso, ou Peninsula, e das Ilhas Auriferas, Carbunculas, e Aromaticas* (1597–1600).

[4] E.g., Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies*, vol. 2, pp. 50, 81; Newbold, *Political and Statistical Account of the Settlements in the Straits of Malacca*, vol. 1, pp. 145–7 and Skinner, *JMBRAS*, vol. i, pp. 16, 51.

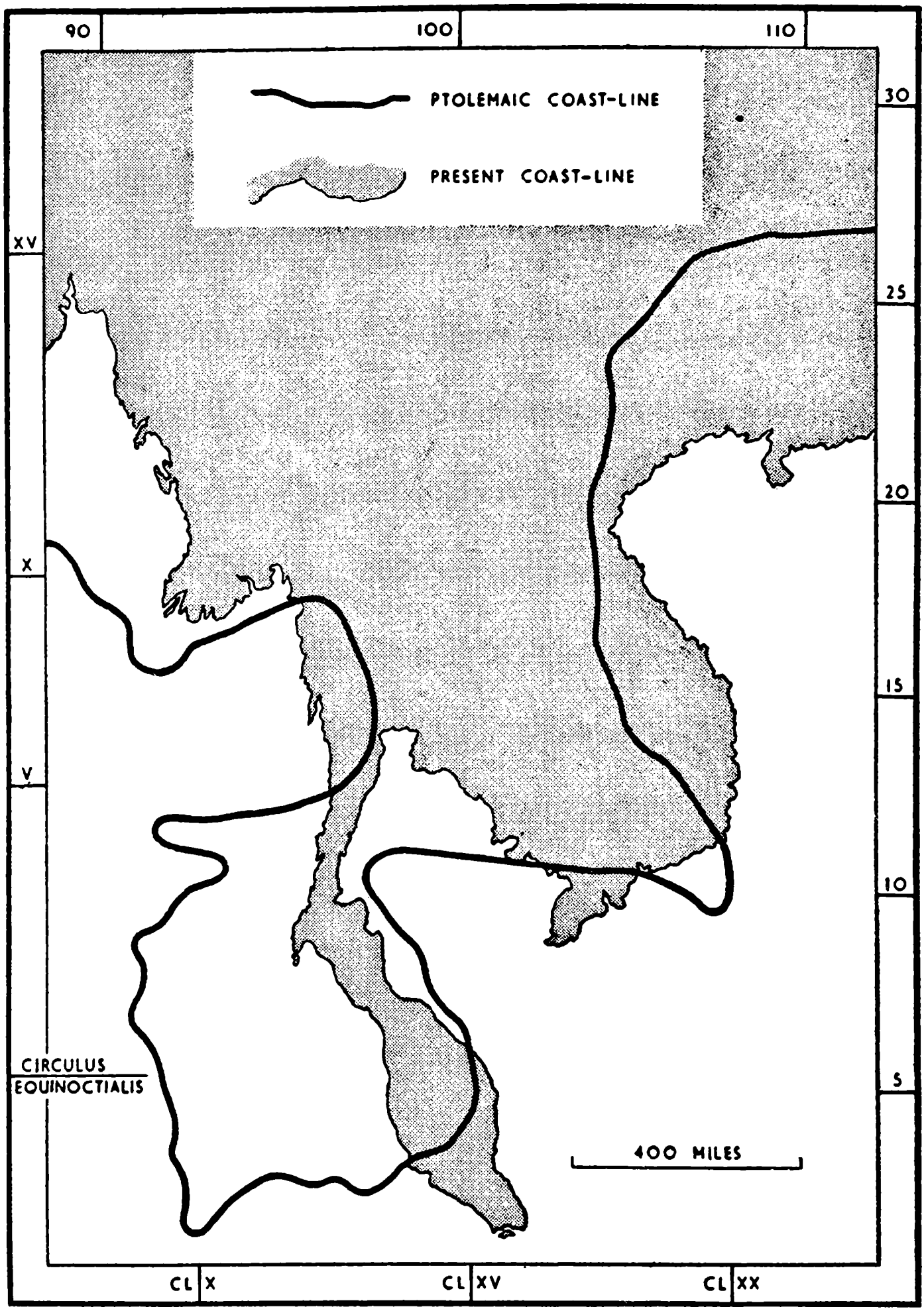

Fig. 28. The Ptolemaic coastline of South-East Asia compared with that from a modern map. Both outlines are drawn on a graticule recommended by Ptolemy and approximating closely to Bonne's. The Ptolemaic co-ordinates are in Roman, true latitudes and longitudes in Arabic, numerals.

Fourth, Western cartographers of the fifteenth and early sixteenth century generally labelled the Malay Peninsula as the Golden Khersonese.[1] Now it is not impossible that they possessed copies of ancient Ptolemaic recensions made from a better text than survives. In any case they clearly continued a tradition which identified the Golden Khersonese with the Peninsula.[2]

The Ptolemaic River System

Flowing from north to south throughout the length of the Peninsula the *Geography* depicts a large river which in its lower reaches divides into three streams (Frontispiece and page 140). These bore such a close resemblance to the distributaries of a delta that early investigators were induced to identify them with the great rivers of Burma. This interpretation ignored the common origin of the rivers as described in the *Geography*, an inadequacy which marred most subsequent studies. Gerini,[3] for example, identified the *Khrysoanas* as either the Lungu or the Trang River, the *Palandas* as either the Klang or the Langat River, and the *Attabas* as the Libih River, but offered no explanation as to why Ptolemy should have combined them into what appears to be an impossible system. Berthelot similarly ignored the common origin of these streams and identified them respectively as the Perak, the Johore and the Pahang Rivers.[4] Nowhere else in the *habitabilis* does the *Geography* depict such a drainage pattern, and the author was unlikely to have accepted such a system in the Golden Khersonese without good reason; but not until 1936 did any interpretation attempt to meet these exigencies. Then Sir Roland Braddell adopted Berthelot's identification of the *Palandas* and *Attabas* Rivers but rejected the Perak as the modern representative of the *Khrysoanas* in favour of a more southerly river.[5] After some

[1] Cp. Appendix 2.

[2] This is true not only of those atlases which were simple reproductions of the data contained in the *Geography*, but also of the *modern* Ptolemies which incorporated such names as Malacca.

[3] Gerini, *Researches*, pp. 97, 729–30 and 105.

[4] Berthelot, *L'Asie ancienne centrale et sud-orientale d'après Ptolémée*, pp. 384–5 and Fig 15, opp. p. 376. One of Berthelot's reasons for identifying the *Khrysoanas* with the Perak is curious in the extreme '. . . le mot malais signifiant or, est soungei; il est encore donné à un affluent du Pérak, le Sungei Jarum.' Sungei is, of course, the Malay word for 'river', not for 'gold', which is *ĕmas*.

[5] *JMBRAS*, vol. xiv, pt. 3 (1936), pp. 30–4 and vol. xvii, pt. 1 (1936), pp. 146–9.

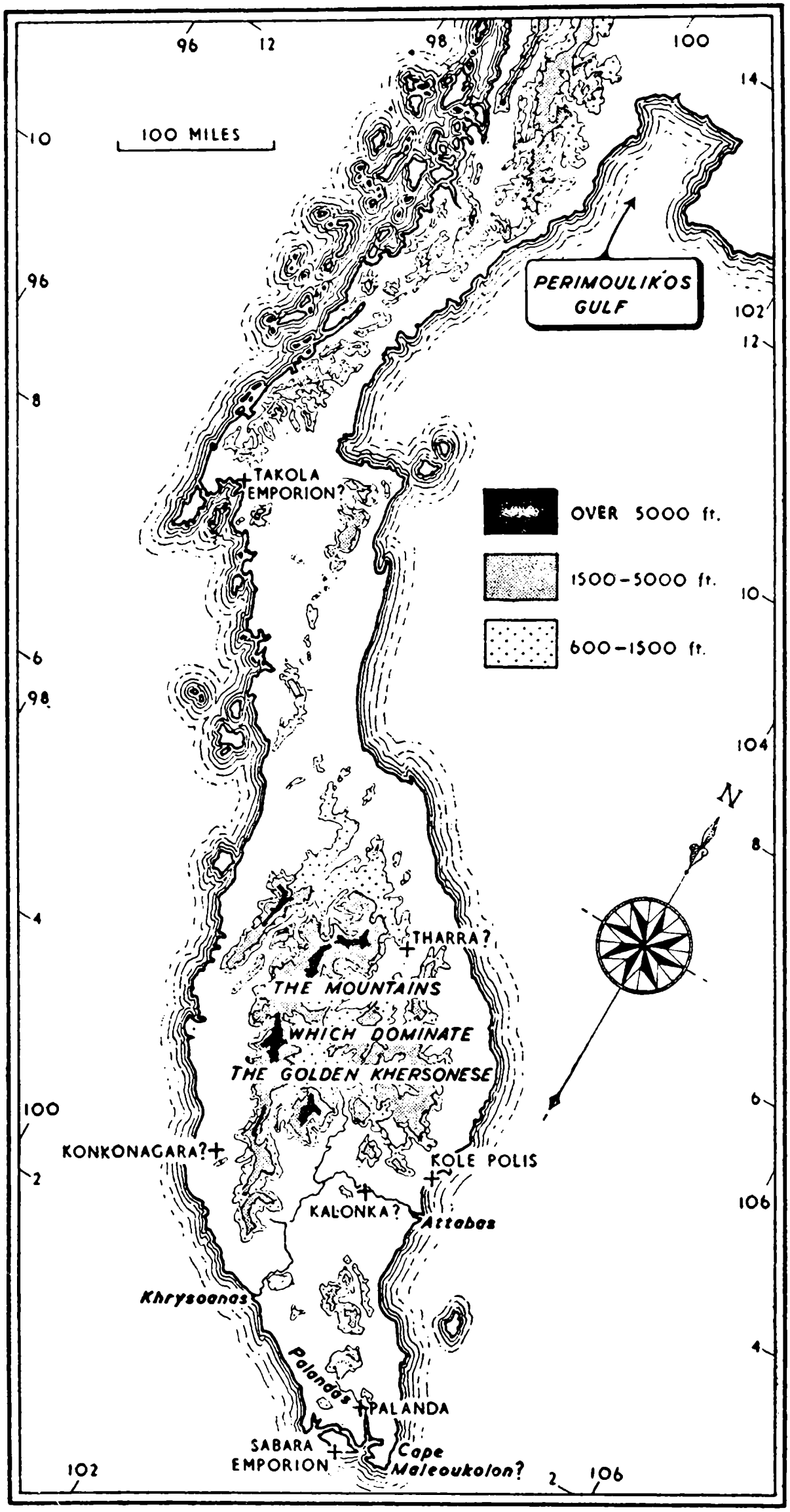

Fig. 29. The Ptolemaic geography of Malaya. Interrogation marks denote speculative identifications.

hesitation he was induced by Dato' F. W. Douglas to accept the Bĕrnam, largely because of the presence of a group of early slab-graves in that area.[1] However, there is still no certainty in the dating of these graves and, despite Dato' Douglas's assurances, this could never have been an easy route.[2] Moreover, the sources of the Bĕrnam, Pahang and Jóhore Rivers are not in conspicuous proximity, but the *Geography* clearly expresses the idea that the drainage pattern was in some way continuous.

I have elsewhere given reasons for rejecting Sir Roland's final interpretation, but in the same article I have also urged the correctness of his earlier view that the *Khrysoanas* was the Muar River.[3] The key to this problem is, I believe, to be found on later maps of the Peninsula. In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries European cartographers commonly depicted a waterway crossing the Peninsula just south of its mid-point and it will be shown in Appendix 2 that this feature was most probably a cartographic representation of a riverine route leading from Malacca territory to Pahang by way of the Muar and Pahang rivers. Now if we compare the map constructed from the Ptolemaic data with these from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, we see at once that there is a significant similarity in the arrangement of the rivers. Both exhibit a trans-peninsular river with a tributary flowing into the main stream from the north. As we have discarded the Ptolemaic co-ordinates we are not obliged to locate this confluence on the Equator, as the *Geography* does, nor in some 'corrected' but related latitude, as several commentators have done. From the general circumstances of position it seems extremely likely that the author of the *Geography* was here depicting this trans-peninsular riverine route. The upper *Palandas* would then represent the upper Pahang and Jĕlai rivers, while the *Khrysoanas* and *Attabas* would represent respectively the Muar and lower Pahang rivers. The latter two streams would have afforded a route across the Peninsula by way of Eredia's *Panarican* (Appendix 2), while the Jĕlai river would have led deep into the goldfields of Ulu Pahang. In view of the importance of Malaya as a source of gold for the ancient and medieval

[1] *JMBRAS*, vol. xv, pt. 1 (1937), pp. 25–6. Sir Roland's revised opinion is discussed in *JMBRAS*, vol. xvii, pt. 1 (1939), pp. 146–9.

[2] See, for example, F. A. (later Sir Frank) Swettenham's account of his journey along this route, *JMBRAS*, no. 15 (1885), pp. 13–15.

[3] *JMBRAS*, vol. xxviii, pt. 1 (1955), pp. 78–98.

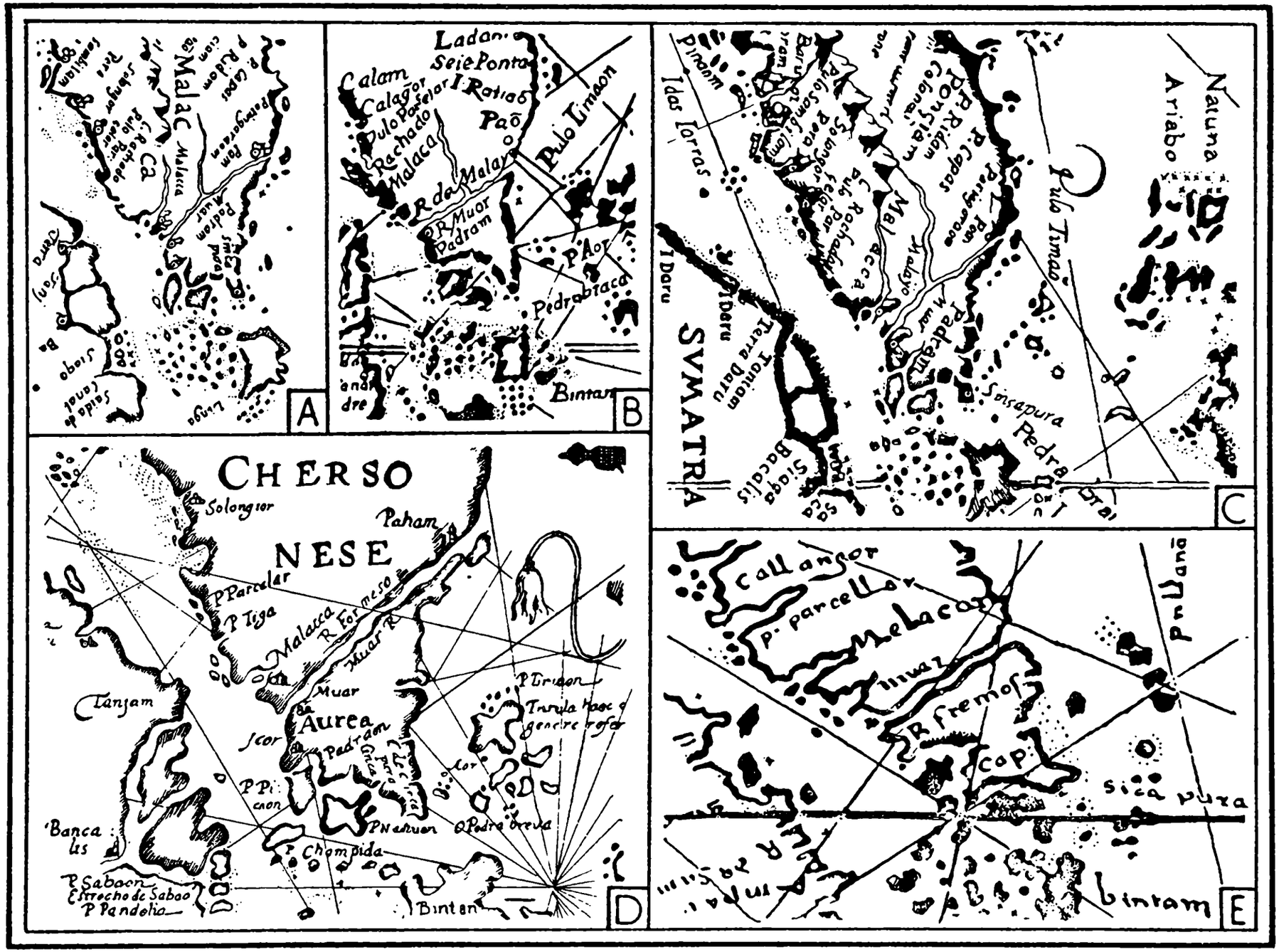

Fig. 30. The trans-peninsular river as depicted on:

A. Part of a printed map of Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula from the Caert-thresoor . . ., *a small atlas published in the Netherlands by Barent Langenes in 1598.*

B. and C. Extracts from maps in the English edition of Jan Huygen van Linschoten's Itinerario, *published by John Wolfe in London in 1598.*

D. Extract from a map of the Indian Archipelago by Willem Lodewycksz, c. 1596.

E. Extract from an anonymous manuscript world map, c. 1542, usually known as the Harley map.

world, it would be natural for a Western cartographer to depict as the chief rivers those which featured in that trade. Moreover, in the minds of merchants and sailors, the river which afforded access to the goldfields from the west coast of the Peninsula might well be especially closely associated with the precious metal, and it is precisely this stream which Ptolemy calls the *Khrysoanas* or River of Gold.

The lower reaches of the *Palandas*, the south-flowing river of the *Geography*, are anomalous in this scheme. There is in fact no such river flowing southwards from the vicinity of the Muar-Pahang portage to the sea. Yet there is an estuary which would agree with the Ptolemaic data, namely that of the Johore River, as proposed by Berthelot and Braddell. This river rises in the present Johore State, and to sailors who penetrated the broad reaches of its lower course it may well have seemed to flow from the heart of the Peninsula, where rumour told of another great waterway.

Takola Emporion

The compiler of the *Geography* clearly intended his readers to conceive of *Takola* as a trading centre[1] on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, and at the head of a bay or estuary between two promontories. That is all the information that can be extracted from the *Geography* but it has been held that this important mart also features in Indian, Chinese and Arab writings. The controversial nature of these claims is examined at some length in Chapter XVII.

Sabara Emporion

Sabara[2] was the second *emporion* of the *Golden Khersonese* and, according to the *Geography*, was situated at the extreme southern tip of the Peninsula. Gerini, whose mathematical calculations forced him to seek a site in Sĕlangor, ignored the implications of the Ptolemaic map and placed this port near the mouth of the Bĕrnam

[1] The epithet ἐμπόριον is not used indiscriminately. E. H. Warmington gives reasons for believing that it denoted 'an authorized sea-coast (not inland) mart in the Orient where *non*-Roman dues were levied by *non*-Roman authorities' (*The commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, p. 50).

[2] *Sabara* is the best reading but McCrindle, Gerini, Berthelot, Douglas, Gibson-Hill and others have adopted *Sabana*, which occurs in a number of inferior texts.

river.[1] Berthelot located it just south of Malacca.[2] For Douglas this town was of great importance for he used its assumed latitude as a basis for calculating the positions of other Ptolemaic features. Unfortunately no reliance can be placed on his identification of the emporium with the locality of the present day Sabana River and Sabana Hill in South Johore.[3] Neither can Linehan's fantastic, pseudo-philological conjectures be accepted as evidence for a site near the modern town of Klang.[4] Braddell admitted the impossibility of defining the exact locality.[5] The author of the *Geography* certainly intended to represent a port at the extreme southerly tip of the Peninsula, and not an inland town on the west coast as, for example, Gerini and Linehan contend. The fact that the *Geography* locates it on a promontory does not necessarily exclude a site on Singapore Island, for as late as the seventeenth century the island was still being mapped as part of the mainland.[6] Even the *Wu-pei-chih* charts, which were practical maps for mariners sailing in these waters during the fifteenth century, marked *Tan-ma-hsi* or Old Singapore as a headland and not as an island.[7] There have, however, been no archæological finds from this period on the Island, and the most that can be said with certainty is that *Sabara* was a trading centre situated somewhere near the southern extremity of the Peninsula.

Kole Polis

This is one of the Ptolemaic place-names which most invite speculation. Gerini thought it was in modern Kĕlantan;[8] Berthelot hesitantly suggested Tanjong Pĕnunjok,[9] Braddell the mouth of the Kĕmaman river,[10] while Douglas dithered between that and the Kuantan.[11] Linehan, too, lacked his usual assurance and,

[1] *Researches*, pp. 100–1, 516, 522, 549, 553.

[2] *L'Asie ancienne*, p. 385 and Fig. 15 between pp. 376 and 377.

[3] *Notes on the historical geography of Malaya*, pp. 5–17.

[4] *JMBRAS*, vol. xxiv, pt. 3 (1951), p. 94.

[5] *JMBRAS*, vol. xiv, pt. 3 (1936), pp. 35–6 and vol. 17, pt. 1 (1939), p. 149.

[6] Hondius, for example, mapped the Malay Peninsula in this way in 1633.

[7] p. 96.

[8] *Researches*, pp. 105–6.

[9] *L'Asie ancienne*, p. 387, but this author was apparently so uncertain of the exact site that he forbore to locate the town on Fig. 15.

[10] *JMBRAS*, vol. xiv, pt. 3 (1936), p. 37 and vol. xvii, pt. 1 (1939), pp. 203 and 206.

[11] *Notes on the historical geography of Malaya*, p. 9.

although he included it in his table of identifications[1] as 'somewhere north of the Kuantan', he omitted any mention of it in his text. Clearly the author of the *Geography* wished to depict a settlement which was at one and the same time on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula and on the equator. These two positions are mutually exclusive but the error is readily explainable. We know that no astronomical records were available from the region of the equator, the position of which had to be calculated relative to the northern tropic; but as the Ptolemaic degree was only five-sixths of a true degree the equator became displaced some 230 nautical miles too far to the north. Thus *Kole*, placed just north of the equator, would in fact be about 230 nautical miles further north. This would seem to indicate a site on the coast of North-East Malaya, but such a supposition is, on the extant evidence, incapable of proof.

Cape Maleoukolon

This is one of the most difficult of Ptolemy's physical features to identify, and no investigator has so far achieved any measure of success. Some early writers, such as Lassen,[2] thought Ptolemy was referring to Rumenia Point, or as it appears on most recent maps, Tanjong Pĕnyusoh. Berthelot derides this identification on the ground that, 'Ce cap n'existe que sur les cartes; sa pointe extrême est unie et boisée, sans relief et se reconnaît par les bancs de sable et de corail qui la prolongent.'[3] It is true that this headland is low-lying and, had it been situated on the long stretches of the east or west coasts, unlikely to have constituted an important navigational mark for mariners; but here at the extreme south-easterly point of Malaya, it necessitated a ninety-degree change of course for ships rounding the Peninsula, and such a feature could hardly have been ignored by sailors. Gerini, basing his arguments on a mathematical correction of the Ptolemaic latitudes and longitudes, proposes to identify Cape Maleoukolon with Tanjong Gelang.[4] Berthelot,[5] Braddell[6] and Linehan[7] have proposed Tanjong

[1] *JMBRAS*, vol. xxiv, pt. 3 (1951), opp. p. 86.
[2] *Indische-Alterthumskunde*, vol. iii, p. 232.
[3] *L'Asie ancienne*, p. 385.
[4] *Researches*, pp. 467, 759; but see also pp. 104–5.
[5] *L'Asie ancienne*, p. 385.
[6] *JMBRAS*, vol. xiv, pt. 3 (1936), p. 37.
[7] *JMBRAS*, vol. xxiv, pt. 3 (1951), p. 94.

Pĕnyabong, seemingly because it is the most pronounced cape on that part of the coast and is situated approximately mid-way between the Johore and Pahang rivers (the *Palandas* and *Attabas)*. Douglas proposes Tanjong Tĕngarroh.[1]

The problem essentially is this. Either the whole of the south-eastern portion of Malaya is omitted from the *Geography* or it is grossly distorted. From the *Palandas* estuary eastwards the Ptolemaic coastline runs almost due east for two and a half degrees to Cape *Maleoukolon*, and then turns north-eastwards to the mouth of the *Attabas* River. On the modern map there is a stretch of east-west coast for only some twenty miles, after which it turns north-north-west. Are we to believe that the author of the *Geography* exaggerated the east-west section from Tanjong Stapa to Rumenia Point and then mistook the direction of the coast, or that his informants omitted altogether to mention Rumenia Point, but attached considerable importance to some headland farther north? Possibly the first of these alternatives is more probable, for it seems unlikely that mariners would fail to remark on such a turning point in their voyages as Cape Rumenia, whereas times and distances could be easily confused by sailors dependent on the fitful winds of the Straits. At the moment the most that we can hazard is that Cape *Maleoukolon* was somewhere on the south-east coast of Malaya.

Perimula and the Perimulikos Gulf

It is clear from the Ptolemaic data that the *Perimulikos* Gulf was situated off the north-eastern coast of the Malay Peninsula, and Gerini concluded that it denoted the present Gulf of Siam.[2] But this simple explanation has not satisfied later writers, who claim that the gulf was not a major Ptolemaic feature. They point out that the author of the *Geography* customarily defined large embayments by their limiting headlands, whereas he gives only one position for the *Perimulikos* gulf. Whether this was the head, the mouth, or some other part, we have no means of knowing. Berthelot[3] and Douglas[4] preferred to see in this gulf the lake of Tale Sap. At present this is a lagoon separated from the Gulf of Siam

[1] *Notes on the historical geography of Malaya*, p. 9.
[2] *Researches*, pp. 760–1.
[3] *L'Asie ancienne*, p. 386.
[4] *Notes on the historical geography of Malaya*, p. 10.

by fifty miles of spit, but these authors assert that it was a bay of the sea in the early centuries of this era. Braddell, on the grounds that 'it hardly seems possible that the Bay of Patani could have been ignored in Ptolemy's time', identifies the gulf with that feature.[1] However, these arguments are not conclusive. It is true that Ptolemy's listing of the *Perimulikos* Gulf under the general heading of the Golden Khersonese might be held to indicate that it was merely an embayment in the coast of the Peninsula, but there is the further consideration that it comes at the end of that particular section, and could, therefore, possibly be the gulf separating the Golden Khersonese from the next region described, that is, from the country of the *Leistai* or Lower Siam. There is no other evidence bearing on this problem, which must be left unsolved.

The identification of the place-name *Perimula* is equally unsatisfactory. Various positions have been proposed, ranging from Ligor in the north (Gerini)[2] to the mouth of the Trĕngganu River in the south (Braddell)[3], and including Great Rĕdang Island (Douglas),[4] but none of these identifications carries conviction, and we must be content to assign *Perimula* to the north-east coast of the Malay Peninsula.

The Inland Towns

These are the most obscure of all the Ptolemaic place-names in the Golden Khersonese, and scholars have so far met with no success in their attempts to identify them. It is, moreover, unlikely that the author of the *Geography* himself had any first-hand information about the interior of the Peninsula. However, it is possible for us to make one tentative deduction from the meagre evidence at our disposal. When the author of the *Geography* came to read off from his map the co-ordinates of the confluence of the *Attabas* and *Palandas* rivers, he noted the latitude as 161° 30′ E. and the longitude as 3° N. The comparable figures for the estuary of the *Attabas* were 164° E. and 1° S. Now, if we plot these co-ordinates on a Ptolemaic projection we see at once that *Kalonka* is situated close to the line joining the confluence and the estuary,

[1] *JMBRAS*, vol. xiv, pt. 3 (1936), p. 37.
[2] *Researches*, pp. 106–11.
[3] *JMBRAS*, vol. xiv, pt. 3 (1936), p. 37.
[4] *Notes*, p. 10.

that is, to the course of that river, and it therefore seems reasonable to assume that *Kalonka* was originally plotted as a settlement in the Attabas valley, or, if the identifications proposed above are correct, in the basin of the lower Pahang River.[1]

The second of the inland settlements is *Konkonagara*. Braddell claims that it was in the basin of the *Khrysoanas* River, but it is difficult to reconcile this with his own table of latitudes.[2] Certainly the most authentic texts place it a whole degree north of the *Khrysoanas*, which would be more likely to locate it in the neighbourhood of Klang. However, from its general position in relation to the Peninsula as a whole, it may well have been situated in the valleys of the Bĕrnam or Perak rivers, or possibly, as Douglas suggests, on the composite delta of the Mĕrbok and Muda rivers. The Bĕrnam, with its tributary the Slim, is the centre of a cluster of slab-graves of uncertain date; a number of Buddhist bronzes have come to light in the valley of the Perak River;[3] and from the fifth century onwards Kĕdah was an important centre of Hinduized culture.[4]

The third inland settlement is *Tharra*, but so far it has proved impossible to suggest any locality for this place-name. There are at least ten different sets of co-ordinates in extant texts, but the best reading (163° 15′E.; 1° 20′N.) would indicate that this settlement was originally plotted in the hinterland of the north-east coast of the Peninsula. Possibly it was at the head of the Kĕlantan delta, but in the absence of reliable evidence all such identifications must be speculative.

It has usually been assumed, and probably correctly, that *Palanda* was the name of a settlement on the *Palandas* River. The Ptolemaic co-ordinates at least do not prohibit this interpretation. Gerini, despite his elaborate calculations, was unable to decide whether the *Palandas* should be equated with the Klang, the Langat or the Pahang rivers, but on the whole he seemed to favour

[1] There is an alternative reading in some texts which gives the latitude of *Kalonka* as 4° 40′N., in which case the settlement may well have been connected with the goldfields of the Jĕlai valley. It was presumably this alternative latitude which led Gerini at one time to locate *Kalonka* on the Isthmus of Kra (*Researches*, p. 761) and at another in the vicinity of Chump'on (p. 111).

[2] *JMBRAS*, (1936), pp. 22–3 and 37–8.

[3] p. 196 below

[4] Chap. XVIII.

the Klang. He did not attempt to define the site of the town *Palanda*.[1] Douglas also proposes Klang.[2] If the *Palandas* was indeed the Johore River (as I have suggested above), then we must seek some position on that stream for *Palanda*. In this connexion Mr. Han Wai-toon has attempted to carry back the history of Johore Lama, now a village a dozen or so miles within the estuary, to Han times (206 B.C.–A.D. 220),[3] but his arguments have been effectively refuted by Professor Hsü Yün-ts'iao.[4] Belief in the antiquity of this site depends on the dating of some coarse pottery sherds found there, and Mr. Han, Mr. Collings[5] and Dr. H.G.Q. Wales,[6] ascribe this ware to the early years of the Christian era, but Dr. Gibson-Hill has demonstrated conclusively that 'we are not dealing with imported wares from a small number of ancient industries, but with fragments covering the progress of a wide-spread industry over a long period of time'.[7]

Berthelot[8] and Braddell[9] have both proposed Kota Tinggi as the site of *Palanda*. This would accord better with the Ptolemaic position for it is situated some thirty miles up the Johore River. Here, too, Makam Sultan has yielded stamped pottery of the same type as that occurring at Johore Lama, which has led some scholars to postulate the antiquity of this site,[10] but their belief seems to be no better founded than in the case of Johore Lama. The most we can say is that a position on the Johore estuary would accord well with Ptolemy's data for *Palanda*, but there is no definite confirmatory archæological evidence.

The preceding discussion shows that the *Geography* provides the framework for a map of ancient Malaya, but owing to the method of compilation of the data it is impossible to be certain of the precise period to which it refers. None of the cities in Ptolemy's

[1] *Researches*, pp. 729–30. At an earlier stage of his investigations Gerini had identified the *Palandas* with the Perak River, and *Palanda* with the chief city of the district, probably 'somewhere about Kuala Kangsa' (pp. 97–9).

[2] *Notes*, pp. 6–7.

[3] *JSSS*, vol. v (1948), pp. 17–35 (in English) and 5–25 (in Chinese).

[4] *JSSS*, vol. v (1948), pp. 1–16 (in English) and 25–39 (in Chinese).

[5] *JSSS*, vol. v (1948), p. 35.

[6] *JMBRAS*, vol. xviii (1940), pp. 60–3.

[7] *JMBRAS*, vol. xxviii, pt. 2 (1955), p. 188.

[8] *L'Asie ancienne*, p. 404.

[9] *JMBRAS*, vo. xiv, pt. 3 (1936), p. 36.

[10] Notably Wales, *JMBRAS*, vol. xviii (1940), pp. 60–3 and Braddell, vol. xvii, pt. 1 (1939), pp. 148–9.

original list, preserved in Book VIII, is in the Golden Khersonese, so that the information contained in the *Geography* is unlikely to be as old as A.D. 150. The likelihood is that the *Geography* gives a composite account of Malaya, incorporating evidence from nearly the whole of the first millenium of the Christian era.

In addition to those sections of the *Geography* which refer explicitly to the Golden Khersonese one other paragaph requires mention.

Μεταξὺ δὲ τοῦ Ἰμάου ὄρους καὶ τοῦ Βηπύρον ὄρους Τακοραῖοι μέν εἰσιν ἀρκτικώτεροι, Κορανδάκαλοι δ'ὑπ' αὐτούς, εἶτα Πασσάδαι μεθ' οὓς ὑπὲρ τὸν Μαίανδρον Πιλάδαι· καλοῦσι δ'οὕτως τοὺς Σαησάδας· εἰσὶ γὰρ κολοβοὶ καὶ δασεῖς καὶ πλατυπρόσωποι, λευκοὶ δὲ τὰς χρόας.

Between Mount *Imaos* and Mount *Bepyron*, the Takoraioi are situated farthest north; the *Korandakaloi* are next to the southward; then the *Passadai*, followed by the *Piladai* beyond *Maiandros;* for it is thus that the *Saesadai* are known, who are shaggy dwarfs with large faces but white skins.

These *Saesadai* (or *Besadas*, *Basade* or *Bsade* as they appear in variant readings) are clearly the same folk as the rachitic and deformed *Bisades* of Scholastikos of Thebes (page 134 above), and the dwarfish *Besatae*, the *malabathron* collectors of the *Periplus* (page 131 above). Laufer,[1] Luce[2] and Braddell[3] have gone further and compared these pale-skinned pygmies to the light-complexioned people of *Pan-tou*, *Tu-k'un* and *Chü-li* (page 22) who also gathered *malabathron*, the *huo-hsiang* of the Chinese. Thus, summarizing, we can propose the following tentative identifications:

(1) the pale-skinned people of *Pan-tou*, *Tu-k'un* and *Chü-li*, who produce *malabathron* =

(2) the Ptolemaic *Saesadai (Basade)*, hirsute dwarfs with large faces and pale skins =

(3) the *Besatae* of the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, a short-statured, broad-faced folk who produce *malabathron* =

(4) the rachitic and deformed cragsmen known to Scholastikos as *Bisades*.

At present these correlations are highly speculative and only the slow dialectic of time can secure their admittance to accepted

[1] *Chinese clay figures*, p. 9.
[2] *JBRS*, vol. xiv (1925), pp. 129–37.
[3] *JMBRAS*, vol. xvii, pt. 1 (1939), p. 199.

history. The whole pattern of settlement as set forth in the *Geography* is strangely anomalous in the historical geography of Malaya. The ports in the south and the trans-peninsular waterway are more in keeping with the fourteenth century than with the isthmian age. At the moment the Ptolemaic evidence is the most difficult to assimilate to the synthesis described in these pages.

After the tenth or eleventh century the Malay Peninsula receded from the knowledge of Western authors until the Portuguese burst into the Indian Ocean. It is true that medieval *mappae mundi* often depicted an *Argyre* or a *Chryse*, together with a legend of marvellous import, but these fantasies derived almost entirely from a Christian theogony and hagiology, wedded to a debased Classical mythology. They were exercises in intellectualism which owed nothing to practical experience. The so-called Modern Ptolemies are scarcely more helpful for the attempt to reconcile the conflict between ancient and current concepts only further confounded the hitherto charted and ordered confusions of the medieval mind. Neither the Blessed Odoric nor Marco Polo seem to have visited the Peninsula, although both touched at ports in Borneo. There has been a strong tendency among scholars to explain the curiously named *Lochac* as a contracted form of Langkasuka[1] (Chap. XVI), from which it would follow that Marco Polo did call at a port on the north-east coast of the Peninsula. But this interpretation has involved a deliberate distortion of Polo's clearly worded itinerary: '[from the Condor Islands] one goes again 500 miles by the sirocco (that is the south-eastern point of the Venetian seaman's compass).' In a future work I am hoping to show that *Lochac* was, in fact, a Bornean place-name and in no way connected with the Malay Peninsula.

[1] It seems that Tomaschek (in *Die topographischen Capitel des Indischen Seespiegels Moḥīṭ*, 1897, p. 46 and map 23) was the first to propose this identification, to which Ferrand later added the weight of his authority as an orientalist (*JA*, tome xii, 1918, pp. 138–9).

APPENDIX I

NOTES ON PTOLEMAIC SCHOLARSHIP

Altogether there are more than forty MSS. of the *Geography* surviving in whole or part. A Latin translation, accompanied by maps, was printed for the first time in 1475: *Claudii Ptolem. Cosmographiae* [sic] *Libri primi capita* (f. 60 recto, col. ii) (Bononia). Misdated as 1462. This was followed by numerous other editions during the latter part of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. In 1533 the Greek text was edited by Erasmus: *Κλαυδιον Πτολεμαίον Αλεξανδρεως φιλοσοφον . . .* (Basileae) and in 1618 Bertius published both the Greek and Latin texts: P. Bertius, *Theatrum Geographiae Veteris* (Leiden). All these early editions abound in textual errors, and the first attempt at a critical edition was that by F. G. Wilberg and C. H. F. Grashof: *Claudii Ptolemaei geographiae libri octo* (Essen, 1838–45), who completed only the first six books. C. F. A. Nobbe's edition *(Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia*, Leipzig, 1843–45) was complete but his readings were not annotated and often selected promiscuously from aberrant texts. C. Müller's great edition ended with Book V *(Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia*, 1883) in A.F. Didot's *Bibliothecum Graecorum Scriptorum*, but was continued to Book VIII by J. Fischer, S.J. (1901). The year 1932 saw the publication of Fischer's *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographiae Codex Urbinas Graecus 82* (Leiden), a sumptuous reproduction of an indifferent MS., and also of a poor English translation by E. L. Stevenson: *The Geography of Claudius Ptolemy* (New York); and in 1938 H. von Mžik translated Book I and the beginnings of Book II into German: 'Des Klaudios Ptolemaios Einführung in die darstellende Erdkunde', *Klotho*, Band v, Teil 1 (Wien). The best edition of the text of Book VII is that established by L. Renou, *La Géographie de Ptolémée, l'Inde (VII, 1–4)*, Paris, 1925.

During the early years of this century, in the English-speaking world E. H. Bunbury was still authoritative on matters Ptolemaic, and even today the lucidity of his style is unsurpassed. A summary of his views appears in *A history of ancient geography*, vol. ii (London, 1879), pp. 546–644. On the Continent Father Joseph Fischer held undisputed sway as the doyen of Ptolemaic scholars;

the following are typical of his numerous papers: 'Die Handschriftliche Uberlieferung der Ptolemäus-Karten', *Verhandlungen des achtzehnten Deutschen Geographentages zu Innsbruck* (Berlin, 1912), pp. 224–30; 'An important Ptolemy manuscript with maps in the New York Public Library', *United States Catholic Historical Society; Historical Records and Studies*, vol. vi, pt. 2 (New York, 1913), pp. 216–34; and 'Ptolemäus und Agathodämon', *Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Denkschriften, philosophisch-historische Klasse*, Bd. lix, Abhandl. 4 (1916), pp. 71–93. During the same period Albert Herrmann, Professor of Historical Geography at Berlin, was producing a spate of papers, such as 'Marinus, Ptolemäus und ihre Karten', *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* (1914), pp. 780–7; 'Die Seidenstrassen von China nach dem Römischen Reich', *Mitteilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, Bd. lxiii (1915), pp. 472–500; 'Marinus von Tyrus', *Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen*, Ergäzungsheft 209 (1930), pp. 45–54. At the Sorbonne, Paul Vidal de la Blache also dabbled in Ptolemaica; the result was 'Les voies de commerce dans la Géographie de Ptolémée', *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (1896), pp. 5–32.

From the second decade of this century there appeared occasionally papers which, although they attracted little attention at the time, are now seen to be pioneers of the modern approach to Ptolemaic studies. Such, for example, are those of L.O. Th. Tudeer, 'On the origin of the maps attached to Ptolemy's Geography', *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xxxvii (London, 1917), pp. 62–76; and 'Studies in the Geography of Ptolemy: I, the Scholia of Nicephorus Gregoras', *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae*, Ser. B.T. xxi, No. 4 (Helsingfors, 1927); and of B. Dinse, 'Die handschriftlichen Ptolemäus-Karten und die Agathodämonfrage', *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* (1913), pp. 745–70. Later came two papers by W. Kubitschek, 'Die sogenannte B-Redaktion der ptolemäischen Geographie', Klio, Bd. xxviii (Göttingen, 1935), pp. 108–32, and 'Studien zur Geographie des Ptolemäus: I, Die Ländergrenzen', *Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Klasse: Sitzungsberichte*, Bd. ccxv, Abt. 5 (1935). In 1930 P. Schnabel published his 'Die Entstehungsgeschichte des kartographischen Erdbildes des Klaudios Ptolemaios', *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse*, Bd. xiv (1930), and eight years

later his *Text und Karten des Ptolemäus* (Leipzig, 1938), in both of which works he sought, by a comparison of the different manuscripts, to establish the connexion between the Ptolemaic maps and the history of the text of the *Geography*. In the same period H. von Mžik was also investigating this topic: 'Neue Gesichtspunkte zur Würdigung der 'Geographie' des Klaudios Ptolemaios für die Orientalistik mit den einleitenden Abschnitten der 'Weltschau' des (Pseudo-)Moses Xorenaçi in deutscher Ubersetzung', *Litterae Orientales*, Heft liv (Leipzig, 1933), pp. 1–16.

Finally this important period in the development of Ptolemaic scholarship was brought to a close in 1945 with Leo Bagrow's 'The origin of Ptolemy's Geographia', *Geografiska Annaler*, Årg. 27, Häft iii–iv (1945), pp. 318–87, though the ideas which found their final expression in that paper had been adumbrated in two short articles in the 1930's: a review of J. Fischer, *De Cl. Ptolemaei vita operibus Geographia praesentim eiusque fatis* in *Imago Mundi*, vol. i (Stockholm, 1935), pp. 76–7, and 'Entstehung der "Geographie" des C. Ptolemaeus', *Comptes Rendus du Congrès International de Géographie, Amsterdam, 1938*, tome i (1938), pp. 380–7.

Appendix 2

THE PANARIKAN

The maps of South-East Asia compiled in the early years of the sixteenth century were mostly inspired by Ptolemy, but as Europeans probed further into the Archipelago, so these stereotyped representations were modified to incorporate current knowledge. On the maps of the second decade of the century, notably that of Jorge Reinel (1519), deep indentations began to appear in the east and west coasts of the Malay Peninsula. Desliens on his chart of 1541 joined these inlets to form a trans-peninsular river, while on the world-maps of Desceliers (1546, 1550, 1553) this waterway had become a well-defined feature. From this time until 1623 all but seven of the maps in the University of Malaya Historical Map Collection depict this river or canal as roughly bisecting the Peninsula (Fig. 30). These maps are as follows:

Nicolas Desliens	Manuscript world chart	1541
Alonso de Santa Cruz	Manuscript chart of the East Indies	c. 1541
Mercator	Globe	1541
John Rotz	Manuscript chart of the East Indies	1542
Anonymous (Harley Map)	Manuscript world chart	1542–6
Sebastian Cabot	Printed world map	c. 1544
Anonymous (Penrose Map)	Manuscript chart of the East Indies	c. 1545
Pierre Desceliers	Manuscript world chart	1546
Pierre Desceliers	Manuscript world chart	1550
Pierre Desceliers	Manuscript world chart	1553
Guillaume Le Testu	Manuscript chart of the Indian Ocean	1555
Guillaume Le Testu	Manuscript chart of the China Sea	1555
Diego Homem	Manuscript chart of southern and eastern Asia	1558
Giacomo Gastaldi	Printed map of southern Asia	1561

Ferando Bertelli	Printed map of South-East Asia	1565
Diego Homem	Manuscript chart of southern and eastern Asia	1568
Fernão Vaz Dourado	Manuscript chart of eastern Asia	c. 1568
Mercator	Printed world map	1569
Abraham Ortelius	Printed map of Asia	1570
Gerard de Jode	Printed world map	1571
Fernão Vaz Dourado	Manuscript chart of eastern Asia	1571
Gerard de Jode	Printed map of southern Asia	1578
Joan Martines	Manuscript chart of southern Asia	1578
Fernão Vaz Dourado	Manuscript chart of South-East Asia	1580
Jacobus van Langeren	Globe	1589
Bartolomeu Lasso	Manuscript chart of southern Asia	1590
Anonymous (Portuguese)	Manuscript world chart	c. 1590
Petrus Plancius	Printed world map	1592
Cornelis de Jode	Printed map of Asia	1593
Willem Lodewycksz	Printed map of the East Indies	1596
Jan van Linschoten (Langeren)	Printed map of eastern Asia	1596
Jan van Linschoten	Printed map of South-East Asia	1598
Jan van Linschoten	Printed map of the East Indies	1598
Barent Langenes	Printed map of Sumatra	1598
Willem Lodewycksz	Printed map of the East Indies	1598
Cornelis Doedtz	Manuscript chart of the Indian Ocean	1598
Cornelis Doedtz	Manuscript chart of eastern Asia	1598
Evert Gysbertszoon	Chart of South-East Asia	1599
Gabriel Tatton	Printed map	1602
Lieven Hulsius	Printed map	1605

Willem Janszoon Blaeu	Printed map of the world	1605
Jodocus Hondius	Printed map	1606
Jodocus Hondius	Printed world map	1611
Nikolaus J. Visscher	Printed map	1617
Arnoldus van Langeren	Printed map of South-East Asia	1623
Antonio Sanches	Manuscript world chart	1623

The only maps in the above collection on which the trans-peninsular river does not appear are:

Michael Tramezinus	Printed world map	1554
Abraham Ortelius	Printed world map	1570
Abraham Ortelius	Printed map of South-East Asia	1570 and 1595
Fernão Vaz Fernando	Manuscript chart of South-East Asia	1571
An anonymous, unidentified map		c. 1580
Mercator	Printed world map	1587
Godinho de Eredia	Manuscript map of the Malay Peninsula	1613

The waterway is normally represented as a broad canal running approximately west-south-west to east-north-east and is usually bounded by straight lines. On the anonymous map of 1542-6 and on Homem's of 1568, however, it is sinuous in form, while Desliens, Hondius (1611), de Jode, Linschoten and Blaeu mark it as a single, but fairly thick, line. That is, they represent it as a river rather than as a canal or a strait. Martines actually truncated the Peninsula at the Muar River, but appended a large island of irregular shape to the southward, so that the waterway became almost an inland sea. On Plancius's map of 1592 there appears for the first time a tributary flowing into the trans-peninsular river from the north, and this figures increasingly frequently on later maps, e.g., de Jode, 1593; Langeren, 1596 and 1623; Linschoten, 1598; Hulsius, 1605; Blaeu, 1605; and Visscher, 1617. The only other physical features depicted in association with this waterway are ranges of hills to north and south of it on Gastaldi's map of 1561.

There is some disagreement among authors as to the precise name of this river or strait. The earliest map on which the feature is named is the anonymous one of 1542–6, where the waterway is labelled *R. fremos*, and until the fifteen-fifties variants of this name

alone occur. Desceliers on his world-map of 1550, for example, denotes the waterway by *R. fremo;* by 1553 he has changed the name to *R. freni;* in 1542 Rotz calls the river simply *fermoso*. This name does not occur again until Lodewycksz uses it on his maps of 1596 and 1598 in the form *R. Fermoso*. But by this time another name has come into common use. This new appellation first appears on Homem's map of 1558 as *mua*, but in the 1568 edition it has become *muayu*. On Martines' map of 1578 we find the word *Muar*, but it is uncertain whether it is intended to apply to the river or to an adjoining district. However, on Dourado's map of 1580 or thereabouts the same name is clearly affixed to the trans-peninsular river. Langeren's river on his map of 1596 seems to have been copied from Vaz Dourado's, even to the placing of the name, and is repeated on his 1623 edition. Lodewycksz, on his 1596 map wrote *R. Formeso* along the north bank and *Muar R.* along the southern. The 1598 edition carried the same names except that the southern one was changed to *R. Muar*. In the same year Linschoten varied the name to *R. Muor*, but in 1617 Visscher returned to the usual *R. Muar*. A third name also occurs on two maps. In addition to the name *R. Muar* written along the south bank of the river, Linschoten's map also carries the legend *R. d. Malayo* along the north bank, and this was copied by Visscher, as *R. de Malayo*.

Certain other names also occur in association with this waterway. To the north the district of Muar had been marked by Desceliers (1550 and 1553), but Lodewycksz was the first to locate the town of that name at the mouth of the trans-peninsular river. He was followed by Tatton and Hulsius. Mercator, as early as 1569, had used a variant of the name Muar *(Muhar)* but had placed it on a more northerly estuary or bay. At the other end of the river we find Langeren (1596), and Hulsius marking the settlement of *Pam*, while Lodewycksz and Tatton wrote *Paham* and Visscher Pão. These variants were all in common use in the sixteenth century to denote the Malay sultanate of Pahang, at that time, as Eredia tells us, the second Malay kingdom in the Peninsula.[1]

Even a cursory glance at a modern map of the Malay Peninsula shows that there is no such waterway as is depicted on these maps. How then did this conception become so firmly established in the

[1] Mills, *JMBRAS*, vol. viii, pt. 1 (1930), p. 233.

minds of the cartographers of the West? The geological structure of Malaya is sufficiently well known for us to exclude the possibility of such a river having existed in the sixteenth century so that we are forced to seek the origin of this strait in the realm of ideas rather than of fact. The information described above makes it clear that some at least of the cartographers of the sixteenth century believed the River Muar to constitute the western end of this trans-peninsular waterway and the Pahang River the eastern. Were there any grounds other than the fact that these rivers flowed in opposite directions from the interior of the Peninsula which might have led cartographers to combine them into a single strait?

The clue to the solution of this problem is to be found in the work of Godinho de Eredia. Not only did this author and cartographer spend much of his life in Malacca, but he also obtained first-hand information about the interior of the Peninsula in the course of his duties as officer in charge of exploration and discovery. In the light of these circumstances it is significant that Eredia omits the trans-peninsular river from his maps. But he does depict the River Muar *(Rio de Muar)* as approaching very close to the Pahang River *(Rio: de: Pam)*, and between the two he shows a track, which he labels *Panarican* (Fig. 31). This is clearly a Portuguese form of the Malay *pĕnyarĕkan*, meaning dragway or portage,[1] and marks the spot where boats or merchandise or both were transported overland from one river to another. In addition Eredia appends an explanatory note: 'Por Panarikan passão de Malaca a Pam em 6 dias de caminho' (By the Panarican one travels from Malacca to Pahang in six days' journeying), and along the course of his Pahang River he writes *Caminho per Pam* (Route to Pahang).

We have only two records describing this route in its primitive state before the road and railway opened it to modern settlement, and both these accounts date from the nineteenth century. In 1827 Charles Gray crossed from Malacca to Pahang and back on a trading expedition, and his diary records the difficulties he encountered.[2] The journey took about three weeks each way, and the portage between the Jĕmpol and Sĕrting Rivers at the time of his crossings (January and February) was about 300 yards. In 1875 a

[1] From *tarĕk* meaning 'to drag'.

[2] First published in the *Malacca Observer*, 17th February, 1827. Reprinted by J. R. Logan as 'Journal of a route overland from Malacca to Pahang, across the Malayan Peninsula', *JIA*, vol. vi (1852), pp 369–75.

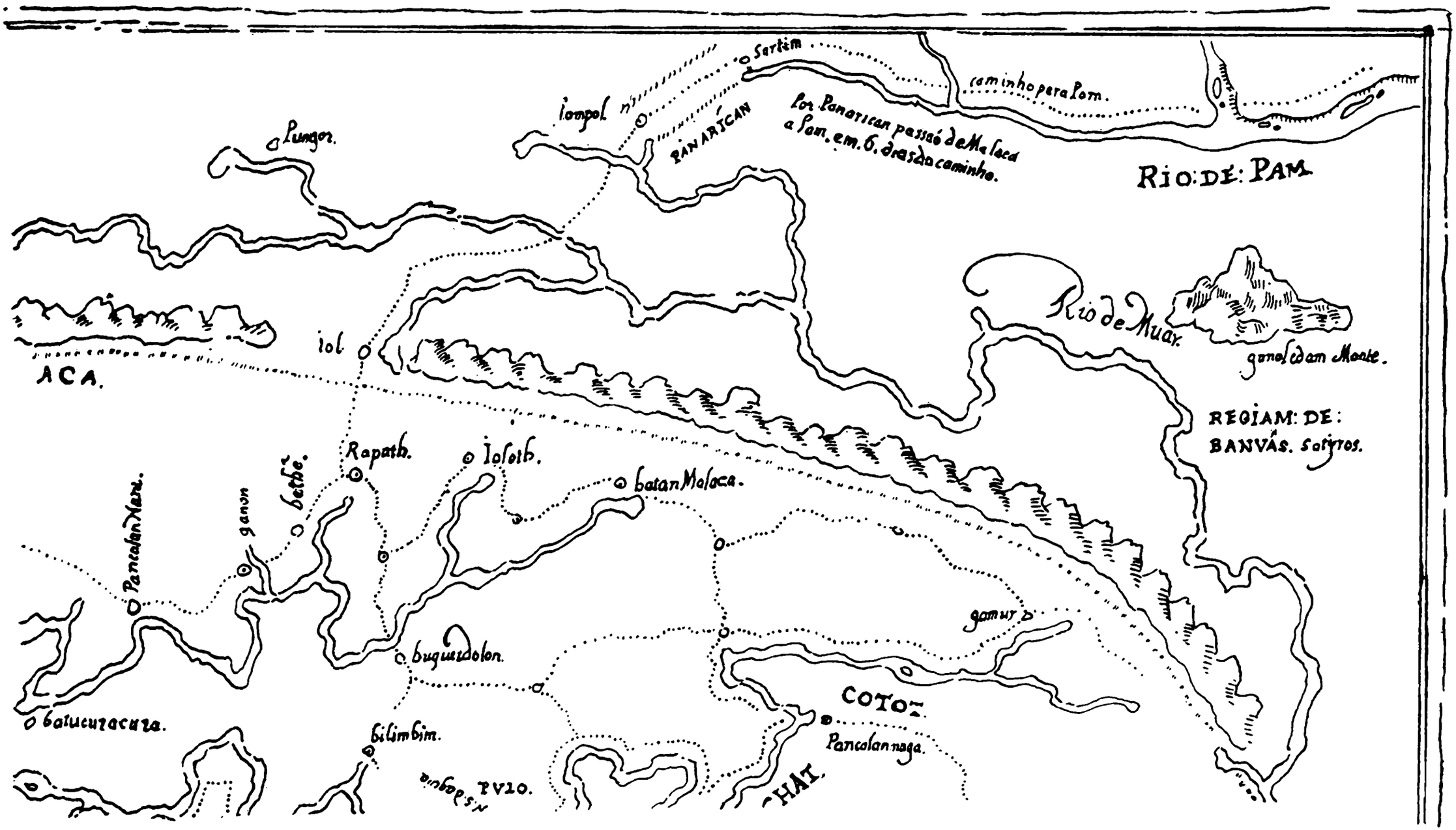

Fig. 31. Part of Eredia's map of Malacca district, 1613 (enlarged), showing the portage between the Jĕmpol and Sĕrting Rivers. Jompol *is the present-day village of Kuala Jĕmpol and* Sartim *is Kampong Sĕrting. Redrawn from* Declaraçam de Malaca e India Meridional com o Cathay, *Goa, 1613, between folios 11 and 13 (By courtesy of the Bibliothèque Royale at Brussels).*

Mr. Daly also passed this way. His journal is now lost but extracts have been preserved in a contemporary geography of the Malay Peninsula,[1] and they make it clear that this was no easy route. Daly and his companions experienced great difficulty in negotiating the upper Jĕmpol and spent three hours in the water dragging their boat over the last mile before the portage. At this point, he says, 'It is a very narrow stream, choked with fallen timber and sand banks overhanging with the much dreaded thorns, called unas'. The surface of the stream at the portage was about twenty-five feet below the level of the bank, whence it was just over a quarter of a mile to the Sĕrting River.[2] Fourteen Malays took two hours to drag the boat over that distance. At the time of Daly's journey the point where the portage left the Jĕmpol River was still known as *Penarri*, a name recalling Eredia's *Panarican*, while even today the hill to the north of the portage is called Bukit Pĕnarik (Fig. 32).

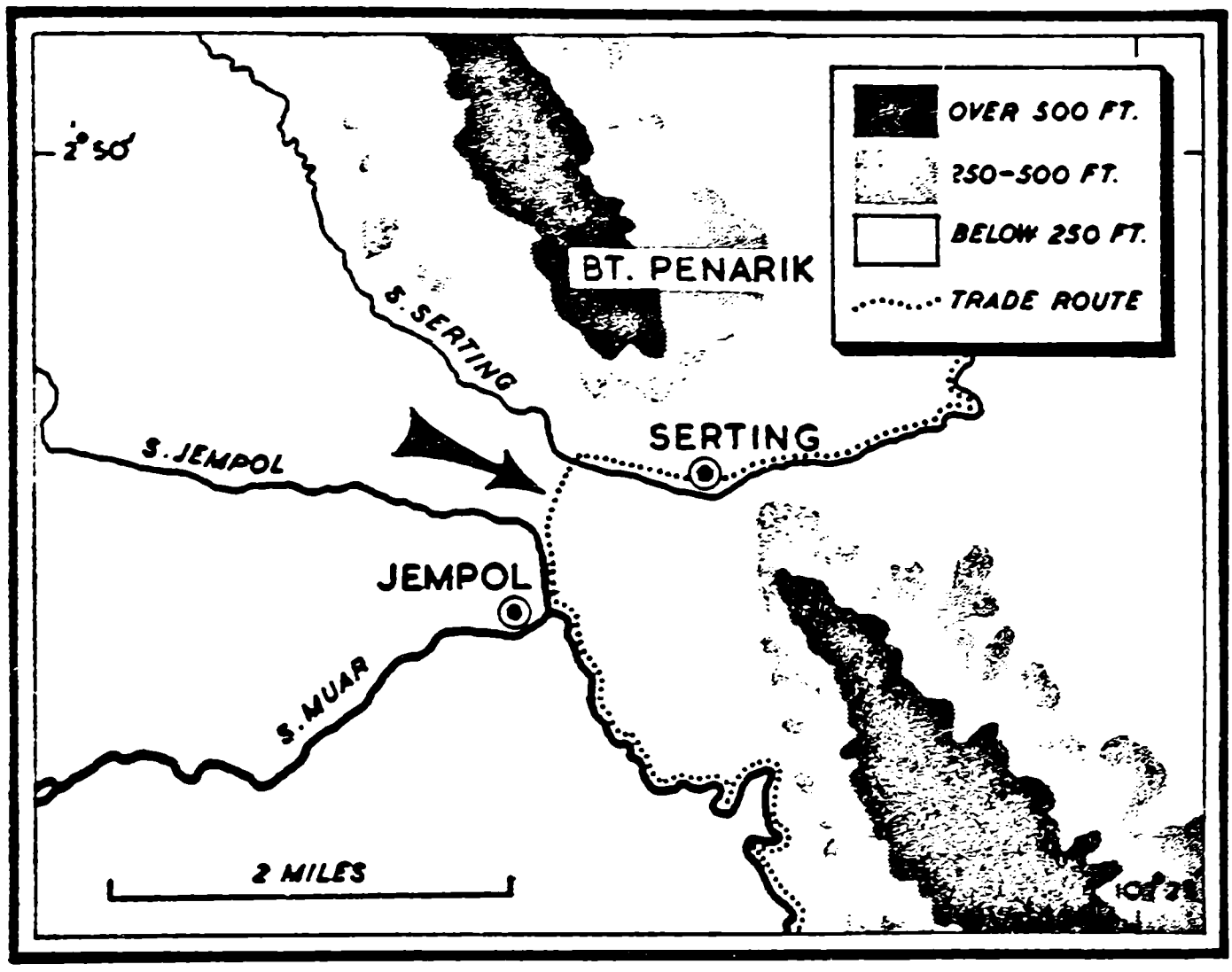

Fig. 32. The Panarikan on a modern map. Note Bukit Pĕnarik situated to the north of the portage and preserving the old descriptive place-name. The portage is marked by an arrow (Based on sheet 3G2 of the Malayan One-Inch-to-One-Mile Series, Hind 1035, Fourth Edition).

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[1] A. M. Skinner, 'Geography of the Malay Peninsula', *JSBRAS*, No. 1 (1878), pp. 59–60.

[2] This was in the month of August.

This could never have been an easy route, but the difficulties were minimized by the nature of the commodities transported. Chief among these was gold dust. Eredia tells us that Pahang contained the best and the largest gold-mines in the whole of the Peninsula. In the remote mountains, he says, 'there has been found a great quantity of gold, which is nowadays taken to the port of Malacca for sale'.[1] Barretto de Resende[2] and Nieuhoff[3] also refer to the gold of Pahang, while other contemporary writers mention pepper, nutmegs, mace, hogs' stones, camphor, sapan-wood, agallochium and porcupine quills among the exports of that country. These were all goods of great value but of little bulk, so that they could be easily transported through the most difficult country and yet yield a profit when sold in the markets of Europe. Doubtless this trans-peninsular trade-route, over which came the wealth of the equatorial forests, featured prominently in the early accounts of South-East Asia which filtered back to Europe. The estuary of the Muar was well-known at this time and European ships were frequently visiting Pahang, with the result that both ends of the route appeared on maps early in the sixteenth century, e.g., on those of Ruysch in 1508 and of Rodriguez, c. 1513. The immense value of the goods reaching the West by that route served to confirm the fact, implied by the width of the Muar and Pahang estuaries, that there was a continuous waterway of considerable dimensions passing from the South China sea to the Straits of Malacca.

Now if we compare the Ptolemaic map with, say, that of Linschoten (Fig. 30), we see at once that there is a significant similarity in the arrangement of the rivers. Both exhibit a trans-peninsular river, with a tributary flowing into the main stream from the north. On Linschoten's map, we have seen, the main stream is the Muar and Lower Pahang, while the tributary is the Upper Pahang and Jělai Rivers, which flow through the heart of the Pahang gold regions. And neither is Linschoten alone in this representation. A similar river system appears also on the maps of Hondius, de Jode, Langeren, Hulsius, Blaeu and Visscher. The only difference

[1] Mills, *JMBRAS*, vol. viii, pt. 1 (1930), pp. 233–4.

[2] *Livro do Estado da India Oriental*, British Museum, Sloane Collection, MS. No. 197, f. 385 b.

[3] Quoted by J. J. Sheehan, 'Seventeenth Century Visitors to the Malay Peninsula', *JMBRAS*, vol. xii, pt. 2 (1934), pp. 81–3.

between these and Ptolemy is that the latter extends the stream from the north to reach the south coast of the Peninsula.

Clearly Ptolemy intended his readers to conceive of the Malayan drainage system as consisting of a trunk stream flowing from north to south down the centre of the Peninsula, with lateral rivers branching off to the east and west coasts somewhere to the south of the widest part. As we have discarded his co-ordinates (page 143 above) we are not obliged to locate this divergence on the Equator, as Ptolemy does, nor in some 'corrected' but related latitude, as many of his commentators have done. From the general circumstances of position it seems not unlikely that Ptolemy was here depicting the trans-peninsular riverine route we have discussed above. The Upper Palandas would then represent the Upper Pahang and Jĕlai Rivers, while the Khrysoanas and Attabas would represent respectively the Muar and Lower Pahang Rivers. The latter two streams would have afforded a route across the Peninsula, while the Jĕlai River would have led to the gold-fields of Ulu Pahang. The name Aurea Chersonesus, or the Golden Peninsula, bears witness to the importance of Malaya as a source of gold for the ancient world, and it would be natural for a Western cartographer to depict as the chief rivers those which featured in that trade.

Ptolemy's Palandas River, the continuation of his south-flowing stream, is not easy to identify, but it is not impossible that it was the Johore River, which penetrates deeply into Johore State. This indeed has been the usual identification proposed by recent Ptolemaic scholars. Its position immediately to the eastward of the southernmost point of the Peninsula certainly agrees well with the Ptolemaic evidence, and sailors who penetrated the broad reaches of its lower course might well have imagined that it flowed from the heart of the Peninsula where rumour told of another great waterway.

According to this interpretation, the anomalous river systems which appeared on maps of the Malay Peninsula right down to the first quarter of the seventeenth century were attempts to depict this trans-peninsular riverine route from Pahang to Muar. The author of the *Geography* seems to have introduced a further complication by giving credence to rumours that the Johore River also flowed from the gold-fields of the interior. But the main

implications are clear. Early representations of these rivers doubtless owed much to the authority of Ptolemy, but the gold, precious stones, spices and aromatic woods which found their way to the West along these waterways were impressive and independent testimony of the existence of a trade-route. From this raw material hearsay and speculation combined to create the illusion of a trans-peninsular canal.

APPENDIX 3

EARLY PTOLEMAIC INTERPRETATIONS

Attempts to reconstruct the Ptolemaic geography of Malaya have not been confined to the era of modern scholarship. Few editors of the so-called Modern Ptolemies were able to resist the temptation to link contemporary place-names with those of the *Geography*. Lacking any but the most elementary critical apparatus, these early writers could only guess the significance of many names, and attempt to relate them to the imperfect maps of the time. Typical of these early scholars was the Venetian mathematician, Josephus Moletius, who in 1562 published his *Geographia Cl. Ptolemaei Alexandrini* with the claim: *pluribusque in locis ad pristinam veritatem redacta.* Moletius's text is reproduced below in roman type, with his comments and identifications in italic, followed where necessary by my own further elucidations.

p. 256

Chrysae vel aureae Chersonesi [*Regnum Malahoa*]

Tacola Emporium – – [*Malacha nunc dicitur mirae magnitudinis, à Portugalensibus vi capta: quod te statur epistola Emanuelis regis ad Leonem decimum*]	160·15;		4·15.
Promont. post ipsam – –	158·40;		2·40.
Chrysoanae flu. ostia [*Ermoso flu.* = R. Formosa = S. Batu Pahat] – – – –	159·00;		1·00.
Sabana Emporium [*Polepiquari* = Pulau—?—] –	161·00;	australis	3·00.
Palandae flu. ostia – –	161·00;	australis	2·00.
Malaeucolon promont. [*C. Cimcapula* = C. Singapura]	163·00;	australis	2·00.
Attabae flu. ostia – –	164·00;	australis	1·00.
Coli civitas [*Nagogor* = Ligor]	164·00;		aequino.
Perimula – – – –	163·15;		2·40.
Perimiculus sinus – –	162·30;		4·15.

p. 258

Et qui per auream Chersonesum fluunt invicem commiscetur, primum à dorsis superiacentibus Chersoneso, sine nomine, ex quibus unus ad Chersonesum fluẽs primo

Attabam scindit circa – –	161·30;	3·00.
Chrysoanum vero circa –	161·00;	1·20.

Reliquus autem fit Palandas

p. 260

Et in aurea Chersoneso Chnigaphola [=Singapura] nunc & Sian [=Siam] duae in Malacha insignes urbes

Balonca – – – –	162·00;		4·40.
Cocconagara – – – –	160·00;		2·00.
Tharra – – – –	162·00;	australis	1·40.
Palanda – – – –	161·00;	australis	1·30.

It is safe to say that, with one exception, the authors who essayed such identifications as these had no first-hand knowledge of conditions in South-East Asia. The exception was Manoel Godhino de Eredia who not only passed the greater part of his life in Malacca, but also travelled widely in the southern parts of the Peninsula. His readings in Classical authors during his Jesuit education at Goa naturally led him to compare the contemporary landscape with the descriptions of such authorities as Strabo, Pliny and particularly Ptolemy. In interpreting the latter author's geography Eredia committed a curious error—though one common at the time—for he seems to have confused the Ptolemaic isthmus with a supposed land-bridge linking Cape Rachado with Pulau Rupat (*Declaraçam de Malaca*, chap. 1, chap. 3 and folio 14 recto). His Golden Khersonese thus encompassed parts of both Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula and in this respect anticipated the ideas of Volz (Bibliography, No. 528). In attempting to relate the Ptolemaic place-names to this scheme, Eredia reversed the relative positions of *Sabara* and *Takola*, placing the former on the Bĕrnam River and identifying the latter as Klang (*Informação da aurea*

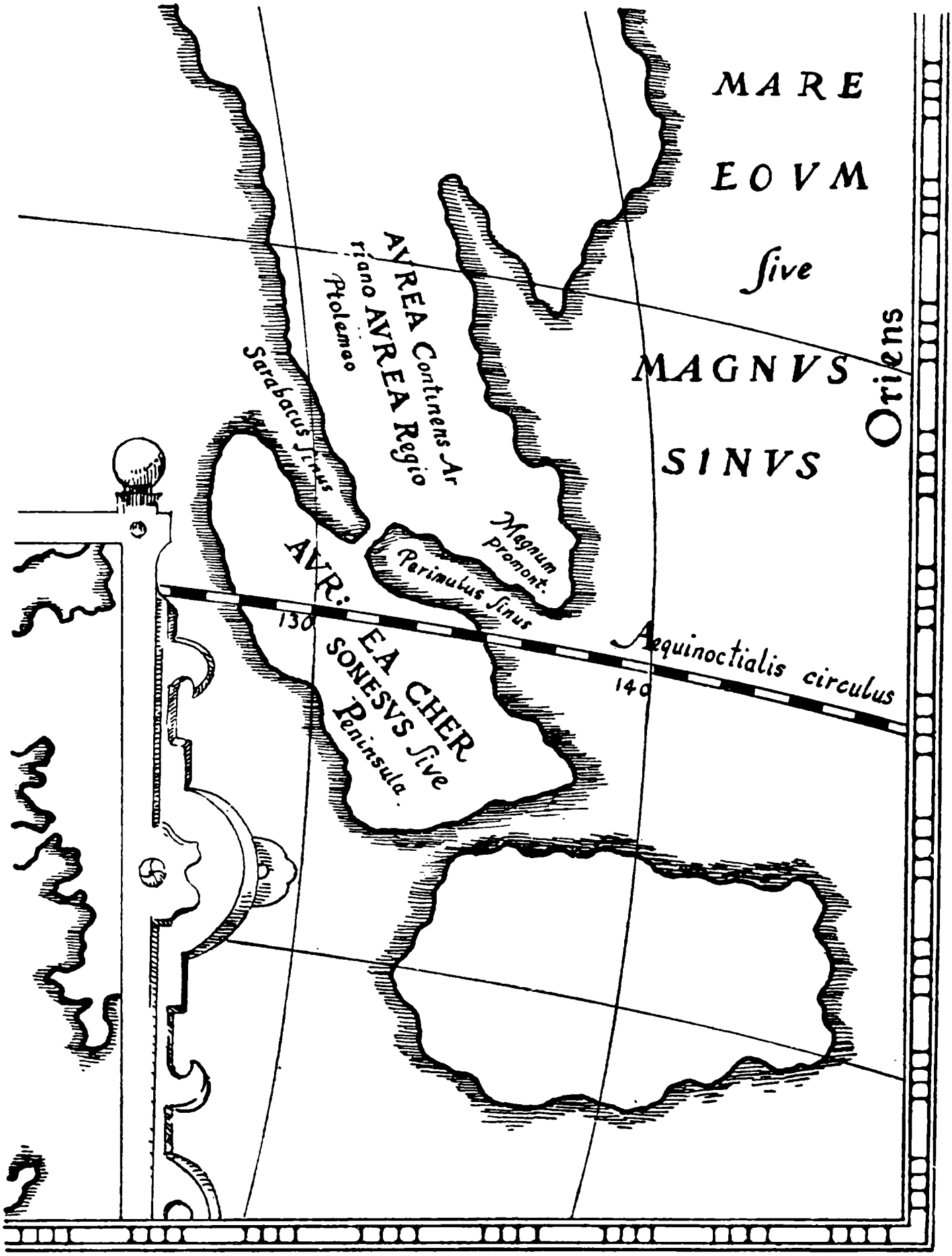

Fig. 33. A reconstruction of Ptolemaic South-East Asia by Ortelius, 1597. Redrawn from Theatrum orbis terrarum *(Antwerp, 1601).*

chersoneso, ou Peninsula, e das ilhas auriferas, carbunculas, e aromaticas). It is interesting to note that, like Moletius, Eredia identifies Cape Maleuokolon with Singapore. *Perimula* he locates in the vicinity of Ligor, and Kole in Kĕlantan (folio 25 recto).

Despite the fact that they were some three or four centuries nearer the Ptolemaic era, these authors give us no reason to suppose that they had any authentic information on place-name identification other than that available to us today, except for the tradition, which was often lost sight of in later centuries, that the Golden Khersonese was indeed the Malay Peninsula. The hypothetical land connexion between Malaya and Sumatra did not originate with Eredia. It is found on other more or less contemporary maps, for example, on one designed by Ortelius and entitled *Erythraei sive Rubri Maris periplus, olim ab Arriano descriptus, nunc vero ab. Abrah. Ortelio ex eodem delineatus*.Although this reconstruction is dated 1597 it was only published posthumously in 1601 in a Latin edition of the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. The relevant parts of South-East Asia are redrawn in Figure 33.

PART III

The Indians in Malaya

AN EXAMINATION OF THE INDIAN RECORDS RELATING TO MALAYA TO THE END OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

CHAPTER XI

SUVARṆADVĪPA

THE genius of Indian thought sought its development in realms other than that of historical or geographical writing, so that information about foreign lands is conspicuously absent in its literature. Although Indian sailors reached South-East Asia in very early times, the knowledge they acquired of lands beyond the Bay of Bengal was never recorded with factual exactitude. For the most part we are dependent on incidental allusions in some such medium as Sanskrit verse or Tamil court poetry.[1]

The earliest place-name which can be connected with South-East Asia is *Yāvadvīpa*, the isle of gold and silver, which occurs in the Fourth Canto of the Bombay Recension of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and which has been identified with the *Iabadiou* of Ptolemy, the *Yeh-tiao* (葉調, anciently pronounced *Yap-div*) of the *Hou Han Shu* and the *Yeh-p'o-ti* of Fa-Hsien (pages 37–8 above). If so, then *Iabadiou* is the phonetic equivalent not of the Sanskrit *Yāvadvīpa* but of the Prākrit form *Yāvadīvu*. In any case it is probably the same name as occurs, together with *Malayadvīpa*, in Chapter 48 of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* under the form *Yāmadvīpa*.

1–10 South of *Bhāratavarṣa*, beyond a distance of 10,000 yojanas by sea, there is a *dvīpa*—three thousand *yojanas* long and one-third as broad. It is full of varieties of flowers and fruits. There is in that island a famous kulaparvata *Vidyutvanta* with many crests. There are thousands of rivers and tanks with clear and sweet waters. In the different parts of the mountain are towns where live men and women in happiness. People there have long moustaches, are dark in hue, become aged eighty at the time of birth, live on roots and fruits like

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[1] For a summary description of these sources see Appendix to this Part.

monkeys, and are devoid of ācāras (traditional observances) like cattle. That island is full of such men and manikins.

10–12 Round about are other islands spreading over twenty, thirty, fifty, sixty, eighty, a hundred, and a thousand *yojanas;* these are small islands scattered in groups, and collectively known as *Barhinadvīpa.*

13–18 There are six other provinces *(pradeśa)* of *Jambūdvīpa* in different shapes. These are *Aṇgadvīpa, Yāmadvīpa, Malayadvīpa, Saṅkhadvīpa, Kuśadvīpa,* and *Varāhadvīpa.* Of these *Aṇgadvīpa* is of a large size and is full of different clans and groups of mlecchas, and contains many rivers, trees, forests and hills, and is famous for its mines of gold and for coral, being near the salt sea. There in the midst of *Nāgadeśa* is a mountain Śakragiri which contains a number of waterfalls and caves, and which touches the sea on either side with its extremities.

19–25 *Yāmadvīpa* again is full of mines. The hill here is known as *Dyutimān,* the source of rivers and of gold. In the same way *Malayadvīpa* has mines of precious stones and gold, besides sandalwood and ocean mines. It is full of groups of mlecchas and has many rivers and hills. The hill here is *Malaya* and contains silver mines. The noble mountain is reputed as the *Mahāmalaya.* A second mountain [is there], *Mandāra* by name, a beautiful hill with flowers and fruits resorted to by devarṣis (divine sages). There is the venerable abode of Agastya, revered by devas and asuras. There is *Kāñcapada* other than the Malaya hill, and it is the holy hermitage rich in kuśa grass and soma. It is a veritable Paradise. In every parva it is said that Heaven descends here.

26–30 In the same way there is the *Trikūṭa nilaya,* in height many *yojanas* and full of charming caves and crests. On its top is the great city of *Laṅkā* with palatial buildings, ever contented and prosperous. Its area is 100 by 30 *yojanas.* It is the residence of great Rākṣasas who can assume different disguises and who were defiant enemies of the devas. It is inaccessible to ordinary human beings. In front of that *dvīpa* and on the shore of the sea, there is a great Śiva temple known as Gokarṇa.

31–33 *Śankhadvīpa,* which is an ekarājya (under one monarch), has an area of 100 *yojanas* and is full of mlecchas. There is *Śankhagiri* which has a number of mines and is served by many holy men. From this the sacred river *Śankha-nāgā* takes its source. It is the residence of Nāga king Śankhamukha.

34–35 *Kumudadvīpa* is full of different flowers, villages, and mines. Here is the deity Kumuda who is the vanquisher of the wicked and who is a sister of Mahādeva.

36–40 *Varāhadvīpa* again contains many mleccha gaṇas (groups) and different other communities. There are a number of towns. It is noted for its wealth and prosperity and also for righteous men. It has a number of rivers, hills and forests. Here is *Varāhaparvata,* a tall and charming hill, full of caves and caverns and waterfalls. From it rises the great river Vārāhī, the holy river of good drinking waters. Here people worship Varāha Viṣṇu to the exclusion of other deities.

41–3 Thus are the six sub-dvīpas; the south of *Bhāratadvīpa* extends to a great distance. Thus this one *varṣa* has a number of *dvīpas,* separated by sea and standing in groups. Thus has been told the extent of *Jambudvīpa* with its four *mahādvīpas,* the intermediate [*antara-*]*dvīpas,* and the sub-dvīpas [*anudvīpa*].[1]

This whole passage is exceedingly obscure but Sir Roland Braddell has demonstrated convincingly that *Malayadvīpa* was Sumatra.[2] He has also shown that, although *Yāvadvīpa* has

[1] Translation by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri. Reproduced in Braddell, *JMBRAS,* vol. xv, pt. 3 (1937), pp. 115–6.

[2] *MJTG,* vol. ix (1956), pp. 1–20.

usually been considered as Java[1] or Sumatra[2] or possibly a regional toponym for both,[3] there are strong reasons for believing it to be Borneo.[4] It has also been contended by some Indian scholars that *Kaserumat* or *Kaserudvīpa*, one of the divisions of *Bhāratavarṣa*, denoted the Malay Peninsula,[5] but this identification has not so far received the sanction of other scholars, notably Ramachandra Dikshitar, who has made a special study of the *Purāṇas*.[6]

An early place-name which can be assigned with certainty to South-East Asia appears in the *Rāmāyaṇa* in the form *Suvarṇadvīpa* (the Golden Island or Peninsula) or *Suvarṇabhūmi* (Pāli *Suvaṇṇabhūmi*, Land of Gold). The folk tales of the *Jātaka*, for example, which were in existence in the late centuries B.C., but which certainly incorporate material from a much earlier period, picture an established trade between the ports of India and *Suvarṇabhūmi*. Prince Mahājanaka, we read, in search of great riches joined with a company of merchants bound for this eldorado of the East,[7] while two other *Jātaka* stories refer to a voyage from *Bharukaccha* (the Ptolemaic *Barygaza* and modern Broach) to *Suvarṇabhūmi*.[8]

Other stories derive from the lost *Bṛhatkathā*. Such, for instance, is the tale preserved in the *Bṛhatkathā-śloka-saṁgraha* of Sānudāsa, who after reaching *Suvaṇṇabhūmi*, set out on an adventurous expedition into the interior of the country. From the same source come stories of several voyages related in Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara*, including that of the merchant Samudraśūra, who visited *Kalaśapura*, capital of *Suvarṇadvīpa*.[9] Another merchant, Rudra, was shipwrecked on the return voyage,[10] while

[1] e.g., Pelliot, *BEFEO*, vol. iv (1904), p. 317; Vogel, *The relation between the art of India and Java*, p. 15; Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, pt. 1, p. 103, note 1; Coedès, *Les états hindouisés*, pp. 92–3.

[2] e.g. Ferrand, *JA*, onzième série, tome xx (1922), pp. 202–6; Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 198; Gerini, *Researches*, pp. 547–8.

[3] e.g. Hirananda Shastri, *E Ind.*, vol. xvii, pt. 7 (1924), p. 312; Chavannes, *TP*, vol. v (1904), 193–206; Pelliot, *BEFEO*, tome iv (1904), p. 320; Kern, *VG*, vol. v (1916), p. 314.

[4] *JMBRAS*, vol. xix, pt. 1 (1941), pp. 31–72.

[5] e.g., Majumdar Sastri, *Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India*, appendix I; and Jayaswal, *History of India, 150 A.D. to 350 A.D.*, p. 154.

[6] Ramachandra Dikshitar, *IHQ*, vol. viii, (1932), pp. 747–67 and *Some Aspects of the Vāyu Purāṇa*.

[7] *Jātaka*, vol. vi, p. 22.

[8] *Jātaka*, vol. iii, p. 124 and vol. iv. p. 86; and *Jātakamālā*, no. 14.

[9] *Kathāsaritsāgara*, taraṅga 54, verses 97 *et. seq.*

[10] *ibid.*, taraṅga 54, verses 86 *et seq.*

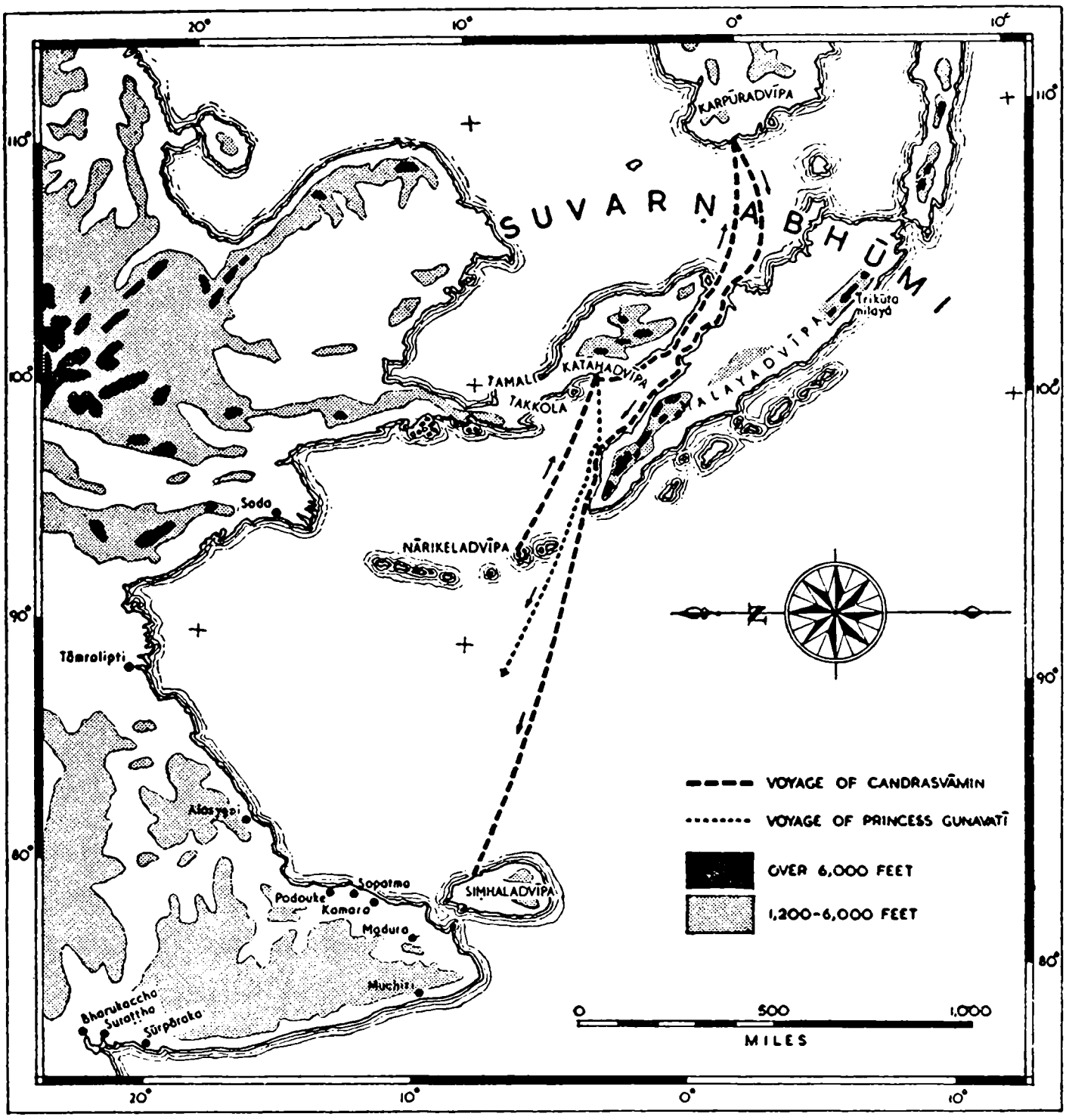

Fig. 34. The Land of Gold (Suvarṇabhūmi) mainly as it is recorded in early Indian literature. Some Indian ports from Greek Sources (see Chap. XII).

there are references to trading expeditions to *Suvarṇadvīpa* in the stories of *Īśvaravarmā*[1] and *Yaśaḥketu*.[2] Then the *Kathāsaritsāgara* also includes a tale of shipwreck on the coast of *Suvarṇadvīpa* suffered by Princess Guṇavatī on her way from *Kaṭāha* (Kĕdah[3]) to India (Fig. 34),[4] and finally in the same work we find the itinerary of the Brahman Candrasvāmin wandering among the islands of the East in search of his lost son.[5] Figure 34 depicts his voyage.

[1] *ibid.*, taraṅga 57, verses 72 *et seq.*
[2] *ibid.*, taraṅga 86, verses 33, 62.
[3] See Chap. xviii.
[4] *Kathāsaritsāgara*, taraṅga 123, verse 110.
[5] *ibid.*, taraṅga 56, verses 56–64.

Suvarṇadvīpa is also mentioned in the *Kathākośa* as a land whose king rescued Nāgadatta and his five hundred ships from the hollow of the snake-encircled mountain,[1] while Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* refers to *aguru* (aloeswood; Malay *garu)* from *Suvarṇabhūmi*.[2]

Probably the best-known reference to these trading voyages to the East occurs in the *Milinda-pañha*, where we read:

. . . yathā mahārāja sadhano nāviko paṭṭane suṭṭhu katasuṅko mahāsamuddaṁ pavisitvā Vaṅgaṁ Takkolaṁ Cīnam Sovīraṁ Suraṭṭhaṁ Alasandaṁ Kolapaṭṭanaṁ Suvaṇṇabhūmi gacchati aññam pi yaṁ kiñci navasañcaranaṁ.[3]

As a wealthy ship-owner scrupulously discharges his port dues and, putting forth on to the high seas, voyages to *Vaṅga*, to *Takkola*, *Cīna*, *Sovīra*, *Suraṭṭha*, *Alasanda*, *Kolapaṭṭana*, *Suvaṇṇabhūmi*, or some other port where shipping congregates.

Other trading ports in the Indian Ocean and South-East Asia feature in a gloss on a word in the *Mahā-niddesa*, a part of the Pāli Buddhist canon from the second or third century A.D.

Atha vā kāmataṇhāya abhibhūto pariyādinnacitto bhoge pariyesanto nāvāya mahāsamuddaṁ pakkhandati, sītassa purakkhato, uṇhassa purakkhato, ḍaṁsamakasavātāta pasiriṁsapasamphassehi rissamāno khuppipāsāya pīḷiyamāno . . . Takkolam gọ, Takkasilaṁ gọ . . . Javaṁ gọ, Tamaliṁ gọ, Suvaṇṇabhūmiṁ . . .[4]

. . . he puts forth on to the high seas, and enduring frost and heat, mosquitoes and stinging insects, wind and sun, and hunger and thirst, he voyages on to . . . *Takkola* (pp. 268–72 below) . . . Java, *Tamali* (possibly *Tāmbraliṅga*) . . . *Suvaṇṇabhūmi* . . .[5]

In the *Mahākarma-Vibhaṅga* the experiences of merchants on the voyage from *Tāmralipti* to *Suvarṇabhūmi* are adduced in illustration of the calamities attendant upon foreign travel *(deśāntara-vipāka)*.[6] The same work attributes the conversion of *Suvarṇabhūmi* to one *Gavāmpati*, whose voyage thither is related in the *Sāsanavaṁsa*,[7] while the Ceylonese chronicle *Mahāvaṁsa* also describes the missionary activities of Thera Uttara and Thera Śoṇa in *Suvaṇṇabhūmi* in the third century B.C.[8] Finally from

[1] Tawney, *Kathākoça* pp. 28–9.

[2] Bk. II, Chap. 2.

[3] Text reproduced from Lévi, *EA*, tome ii, p. 53. Translation based on Lévi, p. 53 with modifications by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.

[4] From Lévi, *EA*, tome ii, pp. 52–3.

[5] From the French of Sylvain Lévi, *EA*, vol. ii, pp. 1–2.

[6] Edited by S. Lévi, p. 50 *et seq.*

[7] *Sāsanavaṁsa*, p. 36.

[8] Geiger and Rickmers, *Mahāvaṁsa*, p. 86.

Tibetan sources we learn that in the seventh century A.D. Dharmapāla visited *Suvarṇadvīpa*, followed by Dīpankara Atīsa in the eleventh century.[1]

Clearly *Suvarṇabhūmi* featured in early Indian folklore as an eastern eldorado where great riches might be won. The voyages of Princess Guṇavāti and Candrasvāmin are most easily interpreted on the assumption that *Suvarṇabhūmi* was specifically Sumatra but it is not unlikely that the name came to be applied to the whole of the archipelago and the peninsula. Such, at least, was the belief of the majority of Arab writers, among whom we find *Bīrūnī* writing: 'The islands of *Zābaj* are called by the Hindus *Suwarn dīb*[2] or Gold Island.' Gerini attempted to distinguish *Suvarṇabhumī*, the Land of Gold, from *Suvarṇadvīpa*, the Gold Island or Gold Peninsula,[3] but it is more than doubtful if the ancient Indians themselves entertained any conception of *Suvarṇadvīpa* more precise than as a fabled eldorado beyond the ocean.

Another reference to South-East Asia is possibly provided by the *Śilappadikāram*, a Tamil epic probably of the second century A.D. In Canto XIV, 11.106–110 we read:

ōṅgirum parappin
vaṅga-viṭṭattut-Toṇḍiyōr-iṭṭa
vagilun-dugilum-āvamum-vāsamun-
dogu-karuppūramuñ-jumanduḍan vanda
koṇḍalodu pugundu.

Having entered [Madura in South India] together with the east wind that came laden with [the aroma] of aloes, silks, sandal, spices, and camphor put by the residents of *Toṇḍi* on board a fleet of tall roomy ships . . .[4]

Nilakanta Sastri argues that, from the context, *Toṇḍi* could not have been the city of that name on the south-west coast of India, nor the one in the Ramnad District of the south, but must have been a Malaysian land across the sea named after their homeland by migrants from India. The itemized products are certainly those of the Archipelago so that, whether or not we accept this argument *in toto*, the passage does reflect some Indian acquaintance with the lands of South-East Asia. An anonymous commentator explains that the word *vāsam* (spices) includes, among other substances,

[1] Sarat Chandra Das, *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*, p. 50.

[2] The Arab transcription of *Suvarṇadvīpa*.

[3] Gerini, *Researches*, p. 78. *Dvīpa* in Sanskrit means 'land with water on two sides' (Pāli *dīpa*).

[4] Text and translation from Nilakanta Sastri, *JGIS*, vol. xi (1944), pp. 26–8.

takkōlam or cubebs, while a gloss on the same passage by Aḍiyārkkunallar, probably from the fourteenth century, mentions *takkoli* and *Kiḍāvaran* aloeswood, together with *Kāḷagam* silk, names clearly connected with *Takkola*, *Kiḍāram* and *Kāḷagam*. It would seem that what were originally place-names became in the course of time attached to the distinctive commodities exported from them.

Sylvain Lévi has discovered in the term *Dvīpāntara* another regional name applied by Indians to Malaysia.[1] Occurring first in a Sanskrit-Chinese lexicon compiled in the seventh or eighth century by a Central Asian monk, Li-Yen 禮言, as a synonym for *K'un-lun* 崑崙,[2] this toponym also occurs several times in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*.[3] To these passages Nilakanta Sastri has added another from the *Rahguvaṃśa* (VI, 57) of Kālidāsa, where breezes from *Dvīpāntara* are described as wafting the scent of cloves over Kalinga:

anena sārdhaṁ viharāmburāśeḥ
tīreṣu tālivana-marmareṣu
dvīpāntarā-'nīta-lavaṅga-puṣpaiḥ
apākṛta-sveda-lavā marudbhiḥ.[4]

Dvīpāntara is mentioned yet again in one of the earliest hagiologies of Tamil Vaiṣṇavism, the *Guruparamparai*, *Arāyirappaḍi* of the twelfth or thirteenth century. In the life of Tirumangai Āḻvār we read of a journey to Dvīpāntara, phrased in such a way as to lead Nilakanta Sastri to conclude that it was a name for the Malay Peninsula. More probably the implication—if such it be—arose through raconteur's licence. In any case, the Moluccas and not the Peninsula, are the home of the clove, although peninsular entrepôts may have been the places of origin of spices so far as Indian traders were concerned.

Occasionally we read of localities seemingly situated within the realms of *Suvarṇadvīpa* or *Dvīpāntara*. Of these *Takkola* and *Kaṭāha*[*-dvīpa*] are discussed below (Chapters XVII and XVIII), while Java and *Tamali* occur in the *Mahā-niddesa*. Sylvain Lévi has claimed that *Tamali* was possibly *Tambhaliṅ*, birthplace of the learned Buddhapālita, and a name which occurs in the C'aiya inscription as *Tāmbraliṅga*.[5]

[1] Lévi, *BKI*, deel lxxxviii (1931), pp. 621–7.
[2] A Chinese regional name for the peoples of the South Seas.
[3] Nilakanta Sastri, *JGIS*, vol. ix (1942), pp. 1–4.
[4] From Nilakanta Sastri, *JGIS*, vol. ix (1942), p. 3.
[5] Lévi, *EA*, tome ii, pp. 26–7.

The Purāṇic accounts make it clear that Indian sailors visited the shores of South-East Asia in very remote times, probably far back into the prehistoric period, and it is hardly less certain that Indonesian traders, a sea-faring folk *par excellence*, frequented the Indian coast equally early. One of the Jātaka texts, in fact, relates that the voyage from *Bharukaccha* to *Suvaṇṇabhūmi* was undertaken in response to a visit from merchants of the latter country.[1] By the time the *Jātakas*, *Bṛhatkathā*, *Arthaśāstra* and *Milinda-pañha* had assumed their present forms, Indian conceptions of the geography of South-East Asia were beginning to crystallize. Within the realm of *Suvarṇadvīpa* itself were discernible nebulous territories such as *Kaṭāhadvīpa* and *Karpūradvīpa*, to which were added in later years *Tāmbraliṅga* and *Takkola*. On the motive for these voyages the literary evidence is conclusive. Almost all the tales mentioned above are inspired by the search for wealth. Indeed, if literature, says Majumdar, mirrors the interests of an age, then trade and commerce 'must have been a supreme passion in India in the centuries immediately preceding and following the Christian era'.[2] The very names of these fabulous kingdoms beyond the sunrise were invitations to merchant venturers: *Suvarṇadvīpa*, the Land of Gold; *Karpūradvīpa*, the Camphor Land; *Nārikeladvīpa*, the Coconut Island; and *Takkola*, [the Land of] Cardamom. Probably the itinerary of Candrasvāmin across the Bay of Bengal to *Nārikeladvīpa* (Nicobars), thence to *Kaṭāha* (Kědaḥ) and *Karpūradvīpa* (Borneo), and back by way of *Suvarṇadvīpa* (in its restricted sense of Sumatra) to *Siṃhala* (Ceylon), is an adaptation for literary purposes of such voyages as Indian merchants were undertaking at the very dawn of history.

[1] From a comparative study of Hindu architecture in India and in Indonesia Professor F. D. K. Bosch has also concluded that Indonesians played an active part in the transference of Indian culture to the Archipelago (*Het vraagstuk van de Hindoe-kolonisatie van den Archipel*, and *MKNAW/AL*, new series, deel xv, pt. 1, 1952).

[2] Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, p. 61.

CHAPTER XII

BUDDHIST AND BRAHMAN

In the early centuries of the Christian era there occurred a significant change in the relations between India and South-East Asia. Throughout the old realm of *Suvarṇabhūmi* there emerged kingdoms with conceptions of royalty based on Hindu or Buddhist cults. The arts practised in these states, and the customs of at least the nobility, were also Indian, while Sanskrit was the sacred language. There can be no doubt but that the seasonal visits of merchants had been implemented by the arrival of priests and literati, and probably also of simple adventurers, who now appeared as an aristocracy ruling over an indigenous population.

Until a decade or so ago it was believed that this important development was brought about by Indian traders themselves, who were conceived as proselytizing colonists,[1] but we now know that this was not so. For one thing the traders led too confined an existence to enable them to transmit more than a few superficial aspects of Indian civilization. They were primarily of two types. First there were the merchant aristocrats, in their rôle of investors and speculators. These, it is true, did occasionally settle in parts of South-East Asia, but they were few in number, and their refined and secluded lives could have influenced the surrounding populations only slightly. The majority of Indian traders were of a very

[1] This point of view was most ably developed by N. J. Krom in his *Hindoe-Javaansche geschiedenis* and by George Coedès in his *Les états hindouisés*, but was given most imaginative expression by Sir Richard Winstedt, *JMBRAS*, vol. xiii, pt. 1 (1935), p. 18: 'A ship or so came with the monsoon to exchange beads and magic amulets for gold, tin, ivory, camphor and those rare medicines, rhinoceros-horns and bezoars . . . Here and there a passenger practised magic, that proved potent in love or war or disease. Another won regard as a warrior. Some married local brides. Priests came and taught a new ritual in Sanskrit, awe-inspiring, as Arabic was to be later, because it was unintelligible to the multitude. For daily speech the newcomers, evidently because they were sparse, adopted the languages of Malaysia and introduced very few words of their own colloquial Prakrit. In time a few married into leading Indonesian families and brought Hindu ideas of kingship, just as more than a thousand years later Muslim Tamils married into the families of the Sultans and Bendaharas of Malacca. The coming of the Hindu appears to have been very similar to the later arrival of the Muslim from India and the Hadramaut, the Brahmin and Kshatriya taking the place to be usurped by the Sayid.' For a similar passage see Ferrand, *JA*, tome xiv (1919), pp. 15 *et seq.*

different social status. They were, in fact, peddlers, usually from the lower strata of Indian society, who travelled all over the Indian Ocean. Poor and untutored, they could never have been a medium for the transmission of the subtler forms of Indian ritual and aesthetic sensibility. Moreover, far from having access to the kraton, they were confined to special ghetto-like quarters in the port areas, with few opportunities for intercourse with the local folk other than those occurring incidentally during the disposal of their wares.

How then was Indian culture transmitted to the lands of South-East Asia? The answer became apparent as soon as scholars had appreciated the relatively advanced cultural levels attained by South-East Asian peoples in early times. These were no barbarians but people already heirs to a socio-economic organization of considerable antiquity.[1] Through trade relations with South-Indian ports, South-East Asian rulers came to realize the value of Indian concepts as a means of legitimizing their political status and, possibly, of stratifying their subjects. To achieve this end they summoned to their courts brahmans skilled in protocol and ritual, and it was this comparatively small but influential group who introduced such characteristic traits as the consecration of a monarch by magical rites, Hindu religious formulae, mythological genealogies of ruling houses, Indian iconography, epic characters and plots, and the whole exceedingly complex ceremonial of Indian court life. This does not mean, of course, that brahmans were the only Indians other than traders who voyaged to South-East Asia, but they were certainly the only group capable of transmitting the more refined aspects of Indian civilization.[2] Side by side with this religious and intellectual element, however, was a military and mercantile group represented by the kṣatriya. Indian records are silent on these matters but there is a little evidence in Chinese histories. *The Annals of the Liang Dynasty*, for example, preserve a Cambodian tradition that an adventurer who had assumed the name of the mythical brahman Kauṇḍiṇya ascended the throne of *Fu-nan* through union with a queen of that country.

[1] p. xxxi above.

[2] The chief interpreters of this point of view have been J. C. van Leur *(Eenige beschouwingen betreffende den ouden Aziatischen handel)* who worked by means of sociological and historical analysis, and F. D. K. Bosch (*Het vraagstuk van de Hindoe-kolonisatie van den Archipel* and *MKNAW*, deel xv, 1952), whose studies in archæology and the history of art led him to the same conclusions.

That such opportunities for acquiring influence should attract adventurers as well as priests and merchants is not unexpected, but we must not disregard the complementary process by which a local chieftain adopted Indian culture, even aspiring to the rank of kṣatriya. Apparent examples of this are not wanting if we read carefully between the liṅes of certain inscriptions. Both Mūlavarman and his father Aśvavarman, for example, bore names of purest Sanskrit, but the grandfather was known as Kuṇḍunga, most likely a Tamil or Indonesian name.[1] Again, Sanjaya, founder of Matarām and bearer of a good Sanskrit name, was nephew to Sannāha, apparently a Javanese name recast in Sanskrit form. Finally, Coedès has called attention to a third important method of cultural transference, namely the introduction of Indian customs into South-East Asia by indigenous neophytes and traders returning from the sub-continent.[2] Owing to the nature of the Chinese records, it is difficult to point to specific examples, but it is possible that something of this process is to be seen at work in the story of the demagogue who, after a period of retreat in India, returned to resuscitate the fortunes of *Langkasuka* (pages 253–4 below).

Recently F. H. van Naerssen has suggested that the process outlined above was insufficient to produce the degree of Indianization evidenced by archæological discoveries and Chinese annals. To bridge the gap between the initial Indian trading station and the emergence of the Indianized state, he has posited the existence of autonomous coastal settlements composed wholly of Indians and characterized by a purely Indian civilization.[3] Such communities, analogous to the modern Kampongs Kling found in many South-East Asian ports, may well have existed at various times,[4] but are seldom susceptible of proof. No such settlements feature in literary records and even where, as in the Bujang valley of Kĕdah, archæological remains of unmodified Indian style* have come to light, there is no reason to suppose that they were not contemporary with buildings of more perishable material which housed indigenous

[1] Chhabra, *JGIS*, vol. xii, (1945), pp. 14–17 and *JMBRAS*, vol. xv, pt. 3 (1937), pp. 118–9.

[2] Coedès, *Les états hindouisés*, pp. 51–2.

[3] Van Naerssen, *Orientalia Neerlandica* (Leiden, 1948).

[4] Cp. the ninth-century Tamil settlement at Takuapa (p. 196 below).

*Since I wrote this in 1956 Dr. Alastair Lamb has adduced evidence to show that these Kedah remains are not of unmodified Indian style.

folk. In any case, as Wales points out, a recognizably superior cultural pattern needs but few apostles for its propagation.[1] What is certain is that when these states first appear in Chinese annals they are Indianized societies, not colonies of Indians.

Although Indian traders have been deprived of their role as bearers of Indian culture to the courts of South-East Asia, the importance of their explorations in that region cannot be overestimated. By disseminating their wares through the islands and peninsulas they also contributed to the spread of Indian crafts and customs. Without the traders, *populo minuto* though they may have been, it is unlikely that Indonesian princes would have been in touch with India at all. The factors which stimulated Indian penetration into South-East Asia in the early years of the Christian era are wholly matters of inference.[2] Among current hypotheses the most credible is that formulated by Coedès, who attributes a re-orientation of Indian commercial interests to changing political conditions in the Mediterranean and Central Asia. In the first place, the formation of the Seleucid Empire fostered communication between India and the West, circumstances of which Rome took advantage when her subsequent unification of the shores of the Mediterranean inaugurated a demand for Eastern luxuries. Among these were gold, spices, and scented woods and resins, obtained by Indian merchants from South-East Asia. In the second place, during the two centuries preceding the Christian era, nomadic disturbances in Central Asia closed the trade routes through Bactria to India's source of gold in Siberia, a situation aggravated when Vespasian prohibited the export of precious metals from the Roman empire. Thus insulated from west and north, Indians turned eastwards to *Suvarṇabhūmi*, the very Land of Gold.

[1] Wales, *The Making of Greater India*, pp. 20–1.

[2] The idea that the motive for Indianization lay in the flight of refugees from either Aśoka's conquest of *Kalinga* in the third century B.C. or Kushan invasions in the first century A.D. cannot be sustained now that we know there was no mass migration of Indians into South-East Asia. Jacobi and some other scholars have claimed that a passage in the *Arthaśāstra* (Bk. II, Ch. 1) specifically enjoins as a royal obligation the founding of colonies in foreign provinces:

> Bhūta-pūrvam abhūtapūrvaṃ vā janapadaṃ paradeśāpavāhanena svadeśābhiṣyandavaṁanena vā niveśayet.

But these lines are undoubtedly better interpreted as urging the settlement of sparsely peopled lands within India itself (Finot, *BEFEO*, tome 12, 1912, pp. 1–4).

Two circumstances facilitated these trading voyages. The early centuries of this era were a period of innovation in ship construction in the Indian Ocean. Larger, ocean-going vessels were built according to a technique borrowed from the Persian Gulf and, more important, were so rigged that they could sail nearer the wind. Finally, the development of Buddhism undermined the rigid ideas of racial purity and repugnance to travel entertained by Hindus.[1] The importance of Buddhism in the early days of Indianization is attested by the images of Buddha Dīpankara calming the waves of the Amarāvati school which have come to light on archæological sites in Siam,[2] Annam,[3] Sumatra,[4] eastern Java[5] and Celebes,[6] and, in Malaya in particular, by the discovery of Buddhist inscriptions in Kědah and Province Wellesley.[7]

The provenance of the Indian immigrants into South-East Asia has been a matter of sharp debate with the main protagonists, the universities of North and South India, and it is unlikely that the last word has yet been said on this matter. Examination of the script of the earlier inscriptions has shed little light on the problem, for in this period the various types of Indian writing diverged the least. So wide has been the difference in informed opinion on this point that, while Professor Majumdar described the Võ-caṇh inscription as written in Kushāna script from North India,[8] Professor Nilakanta Sastri described it as written in a South Indian script.[9] The latter scholar's contention that all the alphabets in use in South-East Asia at this time were of South Indian origin certainly cannot be accepted without reserve, for the use of a pre-Nāgarī script attests Bengali influence for at least a brief period at the

[1] See *Manu*, III, 158 and *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra* on the prohibition of sea-voyages. Baudhāyana places such voyages at the head of patanīyanī and prescribes a three-year penance. Although in practice the prohibition seems to have been largely disregarded, such an authoritative command must have exerted a strong restraining force.

[2] Coedès, *JSS*, vol. xxi (1928), pp. 195–209; Wales, *IAL*, vol. x (1936), pp. 42–8; and *JSS*, vol. xxi (1928), plate 18.

[3] Rougier, *BCAI*, (1912), pp. 212–3 and Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 197.

[4] Schnitger, *The archæology of Hindoo Sumatra*, pl. I.

[5] Cohn, *Buddha in der Kunst des Ostens*, p. 28.

[6] Bosch, *TBG*, vol. lxxiii (1933), pp. 495–513.

[7] p. 193 below.

[8] Majumdar, *BEFEO*, vol. xxxii (1932), pp. 127–39.

[9] Nilakanta Sastri, *BEFEO*, vol. xxxv (1935), pp. 233–41. For the dating of this inscription see Gaspardone, *JA*, (1953), pp. 477–85.

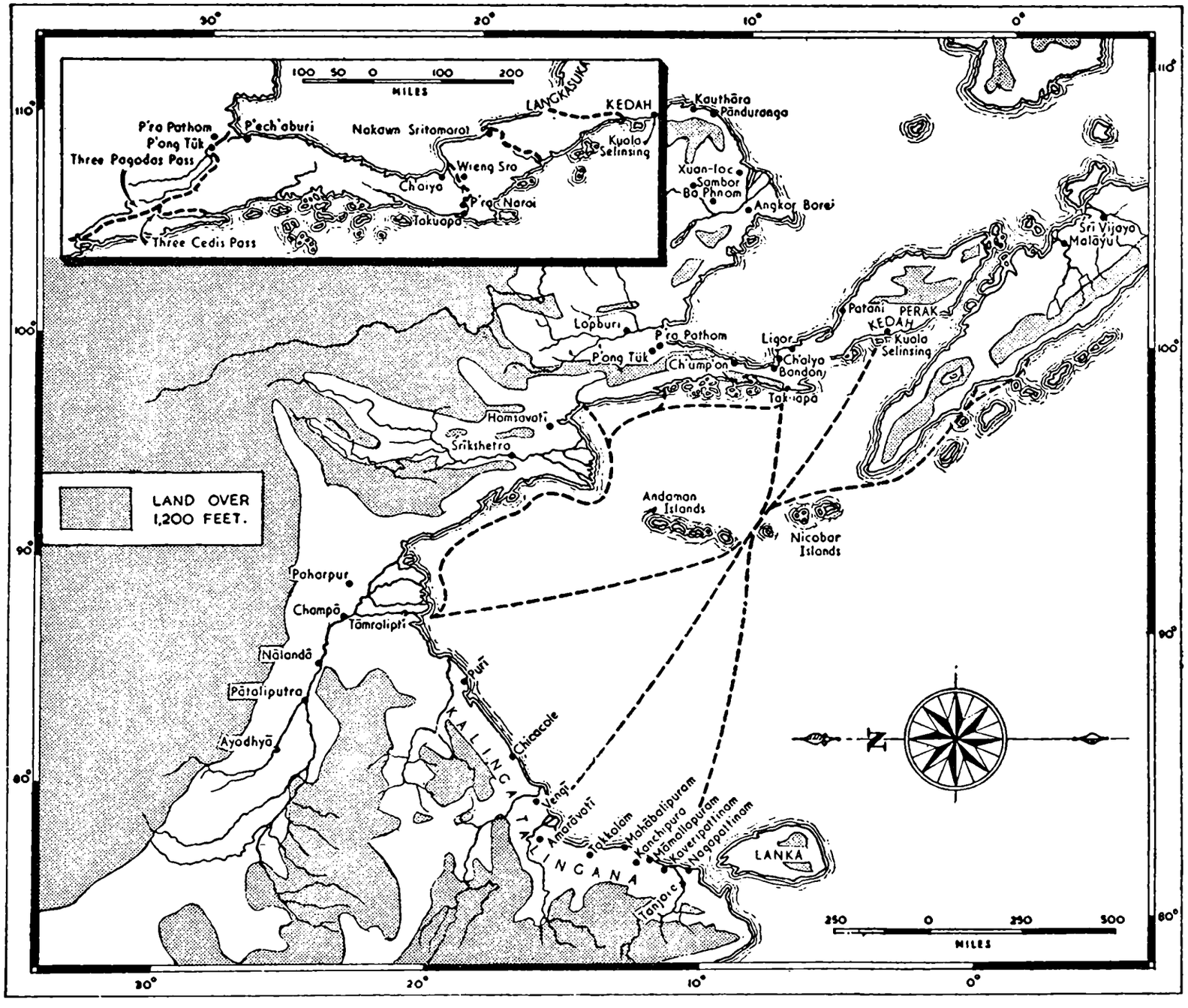

Fig. 35. Probable routes of Indian migration to South-East Asia (Based on archæological and Indian and Chinese literary evidence). Inset: Trans-peninsular routes for the use of which there is archæological warrant.

turn of the eighth and ninth centuries.[1] Neither do the plastic arts afford material help for, apart from Amarāvati Buddhas, the earliest extant examples are usually subsequent by several centuries to the emergence of the inchoate states, and when they do appear exhibit a diversity of influences. If the Amarāvati Buddhas point to South India as the home of many of the early immigrants, subsequent Gupta, Pāla, Sena and Orissan characteristics testify to the dispersed origins of later settlers.[2] It is virtually certain that the long-since mouldered architecture of perishable materials which must have characterized these Indianized settlements would have afforded the key to this problem, but such fragments of masonry as remain, shorn of their images and inscriptions, manifest only the most tenuous relationship with their Indian prototypes.[3]

In default of more precise evidence we must attempt to quarry our answer from such literary sources as we possess. The *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, for example, mentions *Kamara* (Ptolemaic *Khaberos*, modern Kaveripatnam),[4] *Podouke* (near Pondicherry)[5] and *Sopatma* (Markanam) as ports whence *kolandiophonta* set sail for the Golden Khersonese (Chapter X). Ptolemy placed his point of departure *(apheterion)* somewhat farther north, in the composite delta of the Kistna and Godavari Rivers,[6] whence ships sailed direct to *Sada* in southern Arakan. The *Jātakas* tell of voyages to *Suvarṇabhūmi* from *Bharukaccha* (Broach), *Sūrpāraka (Sopara)* and *Muchiri* (Greek *Muziris*, modern Kranganur), all on the west coast of India, and from *Tāmralipti* at the mouth of the Hooghly, a port much frequented by Buddhist pilgrims in the late seventh century A.D. (Chapter IV). To north India also came the Funanese embassy in the middle of third century A.D. (page 24).

The study of South-East Asian place-names has proved less profitable than might have been expected. In the first place, most of the names are known only from a much later period than that of the first impact of Indian culture, while the choice of names

[1] Bosch, *TBG*, vol. lxviii (1929), pp. 3–16.

[2] See, for example, Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian art;* Grousset, *Etudes d'orientalisme*, pp. 277–85; and Le May, *The Culture of South-East Asia.*

[3] Parmentier, *EA*, vol. ii, p. 200.

[4] *CHI*, vol. i, p. 212.

[5] Jouveau-Dubreuil, *S.*, no. 10 (1938), and *BEFEO*, vol. xl (1940), pp. 448–50.

[6] Braddell, *JMBRAS*, vol. xiv, pt. 3 (1936), pp. 17–8.

such as *Campā*, *Dvāravatī* and *Ayodhyā*, famous in Purāṇic literature, does not necessarily attest that the immigrants who applied them came from the Ganges valley. Rather is it the less celebrated toponyms which are the more likely to indicate some local connexion with a particular part of India. It has been suggested, for example, that the *Taruma* of the oldest Javanese inscriptions (c. A.D. 450) may commemorate a locality of the same name a few miles north of Cape Comorin.[1] Similarly the names *Ussa* for Pegu and *Śrīkṣetra* (=*Puri*) for Old Prome would seem to betoken a connexion with Orissa. There can be no doubt that the Burmese appellation 'Talaing' for the Mōn people of the south is derived from *Telingana*, the district around modern Madras, while an echo of *Kalinga* appears in the Chinese name *Ho-ling* 訶陵 applied to an ancient Javanese kingdom.[2] On the Malay Peninsula two ancient names can be matched in India. *Takkolam* (Chapter XVII) is today a village to the west of Madras, while *Kaḍāram* (Chapter XVIII) is a place in Madura.[3] Even more striking is the existence among the Karo-Batak of Sumatra of tribal names from Dravidian India, such as *Cōḷa*, *Pāṇḍya*, *Pallava* and *Malayālam*.[4]

The dynastic traditions current in early South-East Asia are seldom easy to interpret but Majumdar has sought to connect, somewhat tenuously, the Śailendras of Java and Sumatra with the Śailas of Orissa,[5] while the descent of the kings of *Fu-nan* from the union of a legendary Brahman with a nāga princess is closely parallelled in Pallava and Cōḷa mythology.[6] Both the first and second Kauṇḍiṇyas took the name of a Brahman clan of north India, a branch of which was influential in Mysore in the second century A.D.[7] The contribution of the Pāṇḍyas of the extreme south of India is attested in South-East Asia by many scattered references to the cult of Agastya.[8]

[1] Schnitger, *TBG*, vol. lxxiv (1934), p. 187 and Stutterheim *TBG*, vol. lxxix (1939), p. 83.

[2] Cp. the name 'Kling', still applied to southern Indians in Malaya and Cambodia. Sir Roland Braddell, whose authority commands respect, locates *Ho-ling* in Borneo (*JMBRAS*, vol. xxiv, pt. 1, 1951, pp. 1–27).

[3] It was this place with which Hultzsch identified the *Kaḍāram* of the Tanjore inscription (p. 200 below).

[4] Kern, *VG*, vol. iii, pp. 67–72.

[5] Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, pp. 226–7.

[6] Coedès, *BEFEO*, vol. xi, (1911), pp. 391–3.

[7] Chatterji, *JGIS*, vol. vi (1939), p. 139.

[8] Nilakanta Sastri, *TBG*, vol. lxxvi (1936), pp. 471–545.

In the light of the evidence discussed above it is difficult to differ from Coedès when he concludes that, although all parts of the Indian subcontinent contributed to the development of Greater India, the majority of migrants came from the south.[1] Particularly is this true of the Malay Peninsula where, apart from a few Gupta-style figures from P'ong Tük, C'aiya, Wieng Sra, Nakawn Sritamarat, Kědah and Perak and fragments of Buddhist votive tablets in tenth-century Nāgarī script from a Kědah cave, the archæological evidence points uncompromisingly towards South India. The Buddhist inscriptions found by Colonel Low, for example, are written in Pallava characters, as are the prayer of the sailing-master Buddhagupta (page 274 below) and the inscribed quotations from the *Sāgaramati-paripṛcchā* found by Dr. Wales in the Bujang valley.[2] The Bukit Choras inscription[3] and the writing on the silver discs from Sungei Batu Estate in Kědah[4] are also in South Indian script. Then a bronze casket containing foundation deposits and a miniature *ḍamaru* drum contained within it, both from the Bujang valley, are of South Indian type, while a dagger hilt from the same district closely resembles one on the Mahiṣāsura Maṇḍapam bas-relief at Mahābalipuram.[5] Finally the Takuapa inscription, discussed more fully on pp. 196–7 below, implies that a community of Tamils was settled on the west coast of the isthmus in the ninth century.

But Coedès also warns us against regarding Indianization as precisely delimited in time and place. It was a process of cultural diffusion operating over several centuries. In his much criticized *The Making of Greater India* Dr. Wales claims to distinguish four main immigrant waves corresponding to the chief phases of medieval Indian civilization:[6] the Amarāvati (second and third centuries A.D.), the Gupta (fourth to sixth centuries), the Pallava (A.D. 550–750) and the Pāla (A.D. 750–900). This idea of a settlement by waves of immigrants is incompatible with the character of the Indian cultural transference as discussed above but it is

[1] *Les états hindouisés*, p. 61.
[2] *JMBRAS*, vol. xviii (1940), pp. 8–10.
[3] *JMBRAS*, vol. xviii (1940), p. 7.
[4] *JMBRAS*, vol. xviii (1940), pp. 23–4.
[5] *JMBRAS*, vol. xviii (1940), pp. 73–4.
[6] This concept was first adumbrated in *JRAS* (1948), pp. 1–32. See also *JMBRAS*, vol. xxiii, pt. 1 (1950), pp. 153–5.

undeniable that the changing phases of civilization in the Indian homeland are apparent in the provenance of the migrants and in the material remains by which we know them. In any case the simple pattern of migration is, as Dr. Wales is only too willing to admit, complicated by local currents originating from centres of diffusion mainly on the Malay Peninsula or in Sumatra. Finally, it must be stressed that the majority of our sources for the study of Indianization show us only the results of the process, the evolution and eventual decline of kingdoms, so that for the present we must be content with an inferential understanding of their origins and expansion.

In the dissemination of Indian culture throughout the northern regions of South-East Asia the Malay Peninsula fulfilled an important role. Not only was it the first landfall of most Indian voyagers to South-East Asia, but it was also an unavoidable barrier to further penetration, to be surmounted only by an overland portage or a circuitous coastal voyage. It is not surprising, therefore, that some of the earliest settlements featuring in Chinese records are situated on the Peninsula. At the close of the first century A.D. the kingdom of *Langkasuka* was founded on the east coast in the neighbourhood of modern Patani. During the third century we hear of *Tun-sun*, a trading mart in the extreme north of the Peninsula, together with *Ch'ü-tu-k'un* and the port of *Chü-li;* in the sixth and seventh centuries the *Red Land* was sufficiently prominent to attract envoys from the Chinese court; while from the isthmian kingdom of *P'an-p'an* the second Kauṇḍiṇya planned his usurpation of the throne of *Fu-nan*. Then a seventh- or early eighth-century temple excavated on a low spur of Kědah Peak has been interpreted as a transition form between South Indian sepulchral shrines and the caṇḍis of Java.[1] That the peninsula should in the early fifth century have been a regional centre for the diffusion of Hinduism argues that it was itself subject to Indian influence at an early date.

There is no archæological evidence from the Peninsula contemporary with the emergence of *Langkasuka*, or even with the heyday of *Tun-sun* and the ten states, so that historical geographers have enjoyed considerable licence in their attempts to plot the routes followed by the Indian immigrants. In any case, these routes would

[1] Wales, *JMBRAS*, vol. xviii, pt. 1 (1940), pp. 18–21 and Nilakanta Sastri, *South Indian influences in the Far East*, pp. 84–5.

have been subject to continual change as the fortunes of Indian kingdoms waxed and waned. From Amarāvati early immigrants crossed the Bay of Bengal to Arakan (the Ptolemaic *Sada*) and the Burmese deltas, whence two passes invited penetration into the interior of peninsular South-East Asia. From Moulmein the Ataran River leads up to the Three Pagodas Pass at a height of about 800 ft., whence there is an easy descent by way of the Me Nam Kwe Noi into the valley of the Meklong River and so to the plains of Lower Siam. Southwards a more difficult route from the Tavoy district crosses the watershed at the Three Čedis Pass. Where these routes converge and the traveller comes out into the composite delta of Lower Siam are the archæological sites of P'ong Tük[1] and P'ra Pathom,[2] attesting the use of one or both of these passes during the early centuries of the Christian era.

The hegemony of the Guptas, with their capital at *Pātaliputra*, the modern Patna, saw the rise of the port of *Tāmralipti* as a place of embarkation for the fabled lands of the East. Presumably Indian voyagers followed the course taken by I-Ching in the late seventh century, that is, by way of the Nicobar Islands to Kědah, where they settled by the Sala, Bujang and Muda Rivers (pages 273–81 below). Here Dr. Wales unearthed a bronze standing image of the Buddha in Gupta style.[3] From Kědah an easy route led north-eastwards to Patani, the nucleus of the ancient kingdom of *Langkasuka* (Chapter XVI). A second, shorter route was also used during this period. In 1935 Dr. Quaritch Wales investigated the site of a settlement on a small island off the mouth of the Takuapa River. The stratigraphy was greatly disturbed but 'the evidence of the potsherds alone confirmed that the place flourished between the third and eighth centuries A.D.'[4] From this ancient settlement the Takuapa River leads up to a col at just under 2,000 ft., from the far side of which the Khirirat River affords an easy descent into the coastal plain of Bandon. Dr. Wales found traces of Indian penetration along this route,[5] while on the plain beyond stand the

[1] p. 10.

[2] Le May, *A concise history of Buddhist art in Siam*, pp. 16, 22, 27, 34 and 95 and Dupont, *BEFEO*, vol. xxxvii (1937), pp. 688–9; vol. xxxix (1939), pp. 351–65 and vol. xl (1940), pp. 503–4.

[3] Wales, *JMBRAS*, vol. xx, pt. 1 (1947), plates I and II.

[4] Wales, *IAL*, vol. ix, no. 1 (1935), pp. 9–10 and *Towards Angkor*, p. 47; Lajonquière, *BCAIC*, (1909), pp. 234–7 and (1912), pp. 166–9.

[5] Wales, *IAL*, vol. ix, no. 1 (1935), pp. 22–3 and *Towards Angkor*, pp. 51–68.

remains of the city of C'aiya[1] and the smaller site of Wieng Sra,[2] together with several other shrines and relics dating from the period under discussion. From C'aiya comes a Viṣṇu in imitation of a Gupta model[3] while Buddhist figures of pure Gupta style are also known from Wieng Sra and Perak,[4] and others of *Dvāravatī* type from as far south as Ligor.

Pallava immigrants of the sixth to eighth centuries would be more likely to have sailed from the neighbourhood of their capital at *Kancipura* or from the ports of *Nagapattinam* or *Mahābalipuram* so that it is not surprising that they left few traces in Burma and Central Siam. On the Malay Peninsula, however, such evidence is rather more common. Takuapa, for example, seems to have retained its importance as a gateway to *Tāmbraliṅga* (C'aiya district),[5] for the Pra No' Viṣṇu found there is in the purest Pallava style,[6] while a similar but locally modelled figure from Wieng Sra and three Brahmanic stone statues in the valley of the Takuapa River attest the continued use of the trans-peninsular route. With the statues was found a Tamil inscription of the ninth century A.D., which places a tank constructed in the locality under the protection of the Maṇigrāmam (a powerful mercantile corporation) and 'the residents of the military camp (senāmukam)'. Professor Nilakanta Sastri, summarizing the implications of this evidence says, '. . . our inscription attests the presence at Takua-pa of a good number of Tamils including soldiers and merchants and having a permanent stake in the country round about and rearing religious and secular institutions conducive to their spiritual and material welfare'.[7] Few scholars would dispute this conclusion,

[1] Claeys, *BEFEO*, vol. xxxi, (1931), pp. 378–93 and Wales, *IAL*, vol. ix (1935), pp. 19–22.

[2] Lajonquière, *BCAIC*, (1909), pp. 228–9 and (1912), pp. 139–44; Wales, *IAL*, vol. ix (1935), pp. 17–19, and *Towards Angkor*, pp. 74–6.

[3] *AA*, vol. xii, pl. X.

[4] Wales, *JMBRAS*, vol. xviii, pt. 1 (1940), p. 50; Evans, *JFMSM*, vol. xv, pt. 3, pp. 135, 136, plates xlii, xliii, xliv; and A. Wright, *Twentieth century impressions of British Malaya* (Singapore, 1908), p. 78.

[5] This district was explored archæologically by Lunet de Lajonquière at the beginning of this century: *BEFEO*, vol. ix (1909), p. 366; *BCAI* (1909, 1912); and Claeys, *BEFEO*, vol. xxxi (1931), pp. 378–93.

[6] Dupont, *BEFEO*, vol. xli (1941), pp. 253–4.

[7] Nilakanta Sastri, *JMBRAS*, vol. xxii, pt. 1 (1949), pp. 25–30. For an earlier interpretation see the same author's paper in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, vol. vi (Madras, 1932). It is noteworthy that the most celebrated merchant guild of southern India owed no exclusive political allegiance to any ruler (Nilakanta Sastri, *TBG*, deel lxxii, 1932, p. 325).

though some would hesitate to accept the same author's suggestion that the presence of a military encampment indicates the extension of the political power of the Pallava King Nandivarman III (A.D. 826–50) over parts of the Peninsula.

Similar Pallava-style statues still *in situ* at Nakawn Sritamarat, whence came also two Śanskrit inscriptions of the sixth to eighth centuries,[1] would seem to indicate that the Trang River afforded a route across the isthmus at this time. So far, however, despite a strong presumption that the trading city of *Takola* was in this vicinity (Chapter XVII), no significant archæological remains have been discovered in the neighbourhood of Trang. Farther south in Kĕdah the foundations of Śaivite temples built by Pallava immigrants have been laid bare by Dr. Wales, together with a number of decadent survivals from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. So important are these remains for our conception of the early Malayan landscape that they are discussed in a separate chapter below.

Finally mention must be made of the settlement at Kuala Sĕlinsing, situated on the coast of the Matang District of Perak. Here in 1928 Mr. I. H. N. Evans excavated a pile-built village which he believed to be an early Indian settlement,[2] but in 1936 Dr. Wales re-interpreted the evidence as showing the existence of an Indonesian community, probably largely Hinduized.[3] The material yielded by this site does not allow us to date the settlement precisely, but Professor Otley Beyer, on the grounds of a strong typological affinity with a Philippine culture, considers that it probably existed as early as the sixth century A.D.[4] Dr. Wales, at the other end of the time-scale, suggests that it continued into the twelfth century. Recently, some six or so apparently similar sites have been revealed in Matang by aerial photography but none has so far been excavated.

It will not have escaped the reader that no mention has been made of the two shortest trans-peninsular routes. That from Mergui to Prachuab by way of the Tenasserim River, although a main highway between the Indian Ocean and the China Sea in the

[1] Dupont, *BEFEO*, vol. xli (1941), plates 27 and 31.

[2] Evans, *JFMSM*, vol. xii (1928), pp. 121–31 and 139–42; vol. xii (1929), pp. 181–4; vol. xv (1930), pp. 23–4 and 25–7.

[3] *JMBRAS*, vol. xviii, pt. 1 (1940), pp. 54–6.

[4] Evans, *JFMSM*, vol. xii (1929), pp. 191–2.

sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was apparently unused in early times, and although there seems to be no reason, with Dr. Wales, summarily to dismiss a portage across the narrowest part of isthmus as an impossibility,[1] a fairly thorough search has failed to yield any confirmation of Indian penetration. It would seem, in fact, that the merchants, priests and adventurers who reached the Peninsula were seeking not merely to cross it, but to settle on it. They avoided those parts of the isthmus with restricted hinterlands and settled only in localities with trading and agricultural potentialities. This interpretation confirms our earlier conjecture that the Peninsula was a local centre for the diffusion of Indian culture and not merely a barrier over which successive waves of migrants flowed on to found the great kingdoms of Indo-China and Indonesia.

[1] Wales, *Towards Angkor*, p. 56.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CŌḶAS IN MALAYA

DURING the ninth and tenth centuries there had grown up in South India a powerful Cōḷa state which was prepared to contest the maritime supremacy of the Bay of Bengal with Śailendran *Śrī Vijaya*. The Leiden Plates[1] attest that at the dawn of the eleventh century ties of friendship still existed between the two empires, but it was only to be expected that the Cōḷa kings should resent, and eventually seek to break, the commercial monopoly claimed by the Mahārājas of the Isles. What finally precipitated the conflict between them is unknown. Possibly *Śrī Vijaya* was restricting Indian communication with the Archipelago and China, or possibly the Cōḷa king simply felt himself strong enough to assert his undoubted maritime strength in a *digvijaya-yātrā* through foreign territory. Whatever the cause, in c.1025 Rājēndra I essayed a great raid against the *Śrī Vijayan* empire, a record of which is preserved in a *praśasti* inscribed on the south wall of the Rājarājeśvara temple in Tanjore.[2] The translation of Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri—than whom there can be no higher authority—runs as follows.[3]

[Rājēndra] having despatched many ships in the midst of the rolling sea and having caught Sangrāma-Vijayōṭṭuṅgavarman, the king of *Kaḍāram*, together with the elephants in his glorious army, [took] the large heap of treasures which [that king] had rightfully accumulated; [captured] with noise the [arch called] Vidyādharatōraṇa at the war-gate of his extensive capital [nāgar], *Śrī Vijaya* with the jewelled wicket-gate adorned with great splendour and the gate of large jewels; *Paṇṇai* with water in its bathing ghāts,[4] the ancient *Malaiyūr* with the strong mountain for its rampart; *Māyiruḍingam*, surrounded by the deep sea as by a moat; *Ilaṅgāśōka*, undaunted in fierce battles; *Māppappāḷam* having abundant [deep] water as a defence; *Mēviḷimbaṅgam* guarded by beautiful walls; *Vaḷaip-pandūṛu*, possessed of cultivated land and jungle; *Talaittakkōlam*, praised by

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[1] Originally edited in *Archæological Survey of South India*, vol. iv, p. 206 *et seq.* Revised in *EInd*, vol. xxii. See also Vogel, *BKI*, deel lxxv, pp. 628 *et seq.*

[2] It is possible that Rājēndra attempted an earlier raid against *Kaṭāha* (Kĕdah) in 1017. See Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, pt. 1, p. 179, but Nilakanta Sastri *(The Cōḷas)* treats both as one and the same campaign.

[3] Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, vol. i, pp. 254–5 and *BEFEO*, tome 40 (1940), p. 286.

[4] *Paṇṇai* means 'cultivated land', so that this phrase may mean simply 'the well-watered fields' [of *Śrī Vijaya*].

great men [versed in] the sciences; *Mādāmaliṅgam* [capable of] strong action in dangerous battles; *Ilāmuri-dēśam*, whose fierce strength rose in war; the great *Ṇakkavāram*, in whose extensive gardens honey was collecting; and *Kaḍāram* of fierce strength, which was protected by the deep sea.

When Hultzsch first published this inscription in 1891,[1] he overlooked the maritime nature of the expedition and sought Rājēndra's conquests no further afield than the southern districts of the Madras Presidency. A decade later the war was held, particularly by Burmese archæologists, to have been waged against the kingdom of Pegu. Only with the publication of Coedès's paper on *Śrī Vijaya* in 1918 was it established that the raid was directed against that empire,[2] and most of the suggestions proposed therein have become accepted history. These identifications are set out below, with those places known to have been on the Malay Peninsula marked by an asterisk.

Śrī Vijaya. Palembang.

Paṇṇai. *Pane* (east coast of Sumatra).

Malaiyūr. Jambi.

**Māyiruḍingam*. The *Jih-lo-t'ing* of Chao Ju-kua. A state on the isthmus (page 71 above).

**Ilaṅgāśōka*. *Langasuka* (Chapter XVI below).

**Māppappāḷam*. *Papphāḷama* of the *Mahāvaṁsa*.[3] The place where the Tamil general, Ādicca, landed when he was sent against *Rāmaññadēśa* c. A.D. 1165, and considered by Coedès to be one of the southern provinces of the Kingdom of *Pagan* (*BEFEO*, vol. xviii, pages 14–5). Possibly also the *Fawfal* of Ibn Sa'īd (page 225 below).

Mēviḷimbaṅgam. Unidentified. Rouffaer's location in Perak is not now acceptable (*BKI*, vol. lxxvii, 1921, page 83) and Lévi's identification with *Karmaraṅga*=*Kāmalaṅkā* (*JA*, vol. cciii, 1923, p. 43 *et seq.*) is only a flight of fancy.

Vaḷaippandūṛu. Has not so far been identified satisfactorily. The suggestion of Rouffaer (*BKI*, vol. lxxvii, 1921, pages 11 *et seq.*), followed by Coedès (*Les états hindouisés*, page 241), that it was Pandurang or Phanrang in *Campā* is not acceptable,

[1] E. Hultzsch, *South-Indian Inscriptions*, vol. ii, pt. 1, pp. 105–9.

[2] Coedès, *BEFEO*, vol. xviii (1918), pp. 1–36.

[3] Venkayya, *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India* (1898–9), p 17 and *Report of the Archæological Survey; Burma* (1909–10), p. 14.

although the prefix *vaḷai* may be Cham *palei* (=village), perhaps influenced by Tamil *valai* (=fortress).

**Talaittakkōlam*. Ptolemy's *Takola* (Chapter XVII below).

**Mādāmaliṅgam*, the *Tāmbraliṅga* of the C'aiya inscription and the *Tan-ma-ling* of Chao Ju-kua and Wang Ta-yüan.

Ilāmuri-dēśam. The *Lāmuri* of the Arab geographers, *Lambri* of Marco Polo[1] and *Lan-wu-li* 藍無里 of Chao Ju-kua,[2] that is, a state in the extreme north of Sumatra.

Ṇakkavāram. The *Necuveran* of Marco Polo,[3] that is, the Nicobar Islands.

**Kaḍāram*. Kědah (Chapter VIII below).

The phrases accompanying each place-name have no descriptive value; each is simply a play upon words. Tamil *kalai*, for example, means 'science' and *takkor* means 'scholar', so that *Talaittakkōlam* is designated as 'praised by great men [versed in] the sciences'. Again, *vilaippu* means 'sowing' and *turu* 'scrub', so that *Vaḷaippandūṛu* is described as 'possessed of cultivated land and jungle'.

The extent of territory raided by Rājēndra is in approximate agreement with that attributed to the empire of *Śrī Vijaya* by the Arabs and Chao Ju-kua, but it is unlikely that all the places enumerated in the *praśasti* were ruled directly by the Śailendra kings. The more remote probably represented vassal states with kings of their own who, while acknowledging *Śrī Vijayan* suzerainty, were yet absolute rulers within their own domains. Their vassalage, in material terms, probably meant no more than the yearly tribute of gold and silver vessels which Chao Ju-kua records (page 67 above) and an obligation to send warriors for the defence of the empire. The Cōḷa expedition seems to have effected no great change in this political structure. This was in accord with Cōḷa policy, for even in South India the ruling dynasties of conquered territories were seldom displaced so long as they presented tribute. However, whereas these were easily subject to correction at the hands of Cōḷa military forces, *Śrī Vijaya* was some 1,500 miles distant and far less easily coerced into obedience. Doubtless the Mahārāja overtly acknowledged the overlordship of the Cōḷas for a few years

[1] Moule and Pelliot, *Marco Polo*, vol. i, p. 376 and vol. ii, p. lxvii.

[2] *Chu-fan-chih*, pp. 6–7.

[3] Moule and Pelliot, *Marco Polo*, vol. i, p. 377 and vol. ii, p. lxviii.

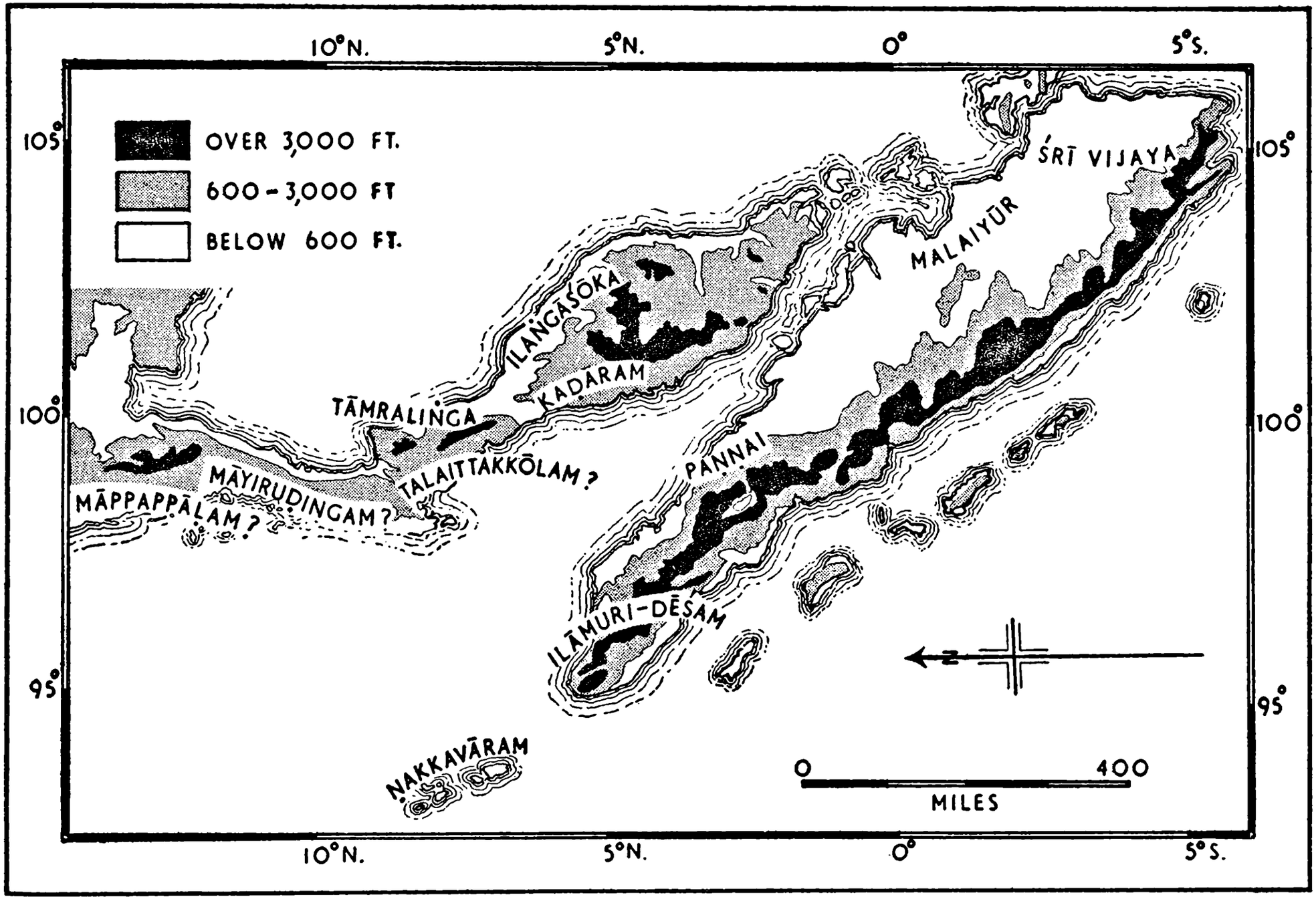

Fig. 36. South-East Asian place-names featuring in the campaign of Rājēndra Cōḷa I, c. A.D. 1025. Based on the Tanjore inscription. Meviḷimbaṅgam *and* Vaḷaippandūṟu *are also mentioned but cannot be identified.*

and opened the straits to Indian shipping, but of a permanent subordination of *Śrī Vijaya* to the Cōḷa power there is no evidence whatever.

The subsequent relations of *Śrī Vijaya* and the Cōḷas are obscure, but that they were not wholly harmonious is evidenced by an inscription of Vīrárājēndra, who is said in about 1068 to have conquered *Kaḍāram* on behalf of a king who had sought his protection.[1] We have no other information about this occurrence so that we are left to speculate about a possible attempt by Kĕdah, the chief peninsular possession of *Śrī Vijaya*, to secede from the thalassocracy. The problem is in no way simplified by Ma Tuan-lin's assertion that during the period 1068–77 the Cōḷas were vassals of *Śrī Vijaya*,[2] though we can only castigate this claim as wanton misrepresentation, and perhaps intrigue, by the Śailendra's envoys. Whatever may be truth of the matter the smaller Leiden Grant[3] bears witness to the re-establishment of amicable intercourse between the empires. About the year 1090, at the request of the Śailendra king, Kulōttunga I renewed the charter *(tāmraśāsanam paṇṇittaravēṇdum enṟu)* of the *Śrī Śailendra-Cūḍāmaṇivarma-vihāra* established at Negapatam nearly a century earlier, while a fragmentary Tamil inscription from Loboe Toewa, dated Śaka 1010 (A.D. 1088), records the existence there of the Tiśaiyāyirattu-Aiññuṟṟuvar,[4] a corporation of Tamil merchants. This bespeaks a period of peace from which we have no reason to suppose the Peninsula was excluded.

During the succeeding two centuries, despite the forging of trade ties between India and South-East Asia, the Malay Peninsula disappeared from Indian literature, and we must turn to Chinese and Arab sources to complete our picture of its emergent individuality.

[1] *SII*, vol. iii, pt. 2, no. 84 and vol. v, no. 468.

[2] 'The [Chinese] Emperor at first decreed that [the envoys from *Śri Vijaya*] should be received and treated in the same way of those from *Chu-lien* (Cōḷa [country]), but the President of the Council of Rites observed, "The Cōḷas are subject to *San-fo-ch'i* . . ."' Translated from Ma Tuan-lin, *Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao*, section 332.

[3] Revised version published by K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer in *EInd.*, vol. xxii, pp. 267–81.

[4] Best understood as *The Five-Hundred of the Thousand* [*Districts*] *in the Four* [*Quarters*]—Hultzsch, *Madras epigraphy report* (1892), p. 12; Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, vol. ii, p. 30, and *TBG*, vol. lxxii (1932), pp. 314-27.

APPENDIX

NOTES ON INDIAN TEXTS MENTIONED ABOVE AND IN CHAPTER XVIII

HINDU LITERATURE

(1) *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *ādikāvya* or 'first ornate poem' in Indian literature is ascribed by tradition to the sage Vālmīki. In its present form it consists of seven books *(kāṇḍas)* and some 24,000 ślokas celebrating the life and exploits of Rāma, a king of the Solar race reigning at *Ayodhyā*. There are three recensions extant, one current in northern and southern India, another in eastern India and the third in the north-west, but, owing to the oral transmission of the text during many centuries, they differ greatly among themselves. M. Winternitz (*History of Indian Literature*, English translation by Mrs. S. Ketkar, vol. i, Calcutta, pages 500–17) concludes that the original *Rāmāyaṇa* was composed by Vālmīki in the third or fourth century B.C., but that Books I and VII, and numerous interpolations in Books II–VI were added towards the end of the second century A.D. the following editions and translations are available:

Bengal Recension. Edited by G. Gorresio (Turin, 1843–67).
North and South (Bombay, 1902).
South (Madras, 1933).
North-Western. Edited by Pandit Rama Labhaya and others (Lahore, 1923 ff.).
Critical Edition. First fascicule. Edited by Raghu Vira (Lahore, 1938).
Translated into English verse by R. T. H. Griffith (Benares, 1915).
Translated into English prose by M. N. Dutt (Calcutta, 1892–4).

(2) The *Purāṇas* (Sanskrit *purāṇa* means 'old tale') deal with ancient Vedic theories of cosmogony, genealogies of gods, seers and royal families, and with the 'great ages' making up an aeon. There are eighteen Great Purāṇas *(Mahāpurāṇa)* and eighteen Lesser Purāṇas *(Upapurāṇa)*. In their present recension they are not earlier than the Gupta period but they had been current in oral tradition for some 2,000 years and their redaction into their present form extended over several centuries. For present purposes the

most important is the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, one of the *Mahāpurāṇas* and also one of the earliest with parts dating back to the fifth century B.C., although additions were being incorporated as late as the sixth century A.D. Chapter 48 gives the most complete—albeit equivocal—picture of Greater India in Gupta times. For an account of the Purāṇas see V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, 'The Puranas: a study', *IHQ*, vol. viii (1932), pp. 747–67; *Some aspects of the Vāyu Purāṇa* (1933); and *The Purana Index*, 2 vols. (Madras, 1951–2). The whole of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* has been edited by R. Mitra in 2 volumes of the *Bibliotheca Indica* (Calcutta, 1880–88) and is also published in the *Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series* (Poona, 1905). Chapter 48 has been translated into English by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *JMBRAS*, vol. xv, pt. 3 (1937), pp. 115–6. R. Mitra has also edited the *Agni Purāṇa* in the *Bibliotheca Indica* and the *Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series* in 1873–9 and 1900 respectively.

(3) *Bṛhatkathā*, by Guṇāḍhya in the Paiśāchī language, is the most important Prākrit work of the early period. Although now irretrievably lost it has supplied themes for many later works, notably

(4) *Kathāsaritsāgara* or *Ocean of streams of story*, the earliest collection of tales extant in the world. This was compiled c. A.D. 1070 by the Brāhman Somadeva for the amusement of Sūryavati, wife of King Ananta of Kashmir, at whose court the author was a poet. It may be regarded, in fact, as a Kashmiri recension of the *Bṛhatkathā*. In conformity with his chosen metaphor, Somadeva divided his work into 124 *taraṅgas* or waves totalling some 22,000 *ślokas*. There is a magnificent translation in 10 volumes by C. H. Tawney, *The Ocean of Story* (London, 1924), in the introduction to which (p. xxxi) appears the following exposition of Somadeva's theme. 'He felt that his great work united in itself all stories, as the ocean does all rivers. Every stream of myth and mystery flowing down from the snowy heights of sacred Himālaya would sooner or later reach the ocean, other streams from other mountains would do likewise, till at last fancy would create an ocean full of stories of every conceivable description—tales of wondrous maidens and their fearless lovers, of kings and cities, of statecraft and intrigue, of magic and spells, of treachery, trickery, murder and war, tales of blood-sucking vampires, devils, goblins and ghouls, stories of animals in fact and fable, and stories

too of beggars, ascetics, drunkards, gamblers, prostitutes and bawds.'

(5) *Bṛhatkathā-Śloka-Saṁgraha* is an abridgment in verse by Budhasvāmin of the *Bṛhatkathā*. It is on the whole more faithful to its original than is the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. Similar collections are to be found in the *Bṛhatkathā-Mañjarī* and also in the *Kathākośa* or *Treasury of Stories*, which has been translated into English by C. H. Tawney, with notes by E. Leumann (London, 1895).

(6) *Arthaśāstra* is a compendious Machiavellian account of all aspects of the science of polity. It is ascribed to Kautilya (also called Viṣṇugupta), reputedly a minister of Candragupta Maurya, and despite many obscure technical terms and over-frequent enigmatic phrases, is written in correct Sanskrit. According to its own testimony, its purpose is the establishment of methods for the acquisition and maintenance of dominion over the earth, to which end it treats of the education of princes and qualifications of ministers, administration of towns and industrial establishments, civil and criminal law, the seven elements of kingship and the six policies, natural calamities such as fire and flood, military campaigns, and corporations and guilds. The whole is divided into 15 *adhikaraṇas* and 180 *prakaraṇas*.

Opinions as to the date at which the *Arthaśāstra* was composed are widely divergent, ranging from the fourth century B.C. to the third century A.D. The problem still awaits solution but the probability is that the later date is nearer the truth. The irreconcilable views of various scholars are summarized succinctly by H. C. Raychaudhuri in *HCIP*, vol. 2, pp. 285–7. The *Arthaśāstra* has been edited by:

R. Shamasastri (Mysore, 1919)
J. Jolly and R. Schmidt, 2 vols. (Lahore, 1923–4)
T. Ganapati Sastri, 3 vols. (Trivandrum, 1924–5)

and translated into English by R. Shamasastri (3rd edition, Mysore, 1929).

(7) *Kaumudīmahotsava* is a nameless, mediocre Sanskrit drama ascribed to Vijjakā, possibly the wife of Candrāditya, eldest son of Pulakeśin II and brother of Vikramāditya I. It has been assigned to various dates ranging from the fourth to post-eighth centuries. This work has been edited by M. R. Kavi and

S. K. Ramanatha Sastri (Madras, 1929) and translated into English by Śakuntala Rao Sastri (Bombay, 1952).

(8) *Raghuvaṁśa*, by the celebrated Kālidāsa, has been described as 'the finest specimen of the Mahākāvya as defined by writers on poetics' (A. B. Keith, *History of Sanskrit literature*, p. 92). This poem, which is based on the *Rāmāyaṇa* and some *Purāṇas*, describes thirty kings of the Solar race, but appears to be incomplete. It has been edited by S. P. Pandit in 3 volumes of the *Bombay Sanskrit Series* (Bombay, 1869–74) and translated into English by G. N. Nandargikar (3rd edition, Bombay, 1897).

BUDDHIST LITERATURE

The canon of the sacred literature of Buddhism was composed in Pāli, Māgadhī and other dialects, of which only the Pāli version has survived in its entirety. It consists of three *piṭakas* or baskets, *Vinaya*, *Sutta* and *Abhidamma*, wherefore it is known as the *Tipiṭaka* (Sanskrit *Tripiṭaka)*. The second of these, the *Sutta Piṭaka*, deals with the ethical principles of the Buddha's teaching in five collections or *Nikāyas*, the last of which, known as *Khuddaka*, includes the charming folk tales known as the

(9) *Jātakas*. These, more than 500 in number, represent practically all forms and types of composition. Some are fables designed to impart *nīti* or worldly wisdom, others are simply fairy stories, romances, adventures, narratives, humorous tales, jokes, collected sayings and epic fragments, prose narratives being interspersed with poetry. There is nothing specifically Buddhist about many of these stories and anecdotes except that the hero is always the Bodhisattva. Vagabonds, dice-players and courtesans often feature prominently in the romances while some idea of their picaresque flavour can be gathered from the fact that the Bodhisattva figures at least twice as a highwayman.

The version extant is merely a commentary on the original canonical *Jātaka*. In this commentary each story consists of five parts: (i) *pachchuppannavatthu* or story of the present, which relates the circumstances under which the Buddha told the tale; (ii) *atītavatthu* or story of the past, which tells of the former births of the Buddha; (iii) *gāthās* or stanzas; (iv) *veyyākarana* or short commentary explaining the *gāthās* word for word; and (v) *samodhāna*

or connexion in which the Buddha identifies personages in the story of the present with those in the story of the past.

Dr. A. D. Pusalker *(HCIP*, vol. ii, p. 405) considers that, although some poems and a few prose narratives go back to the time of the Buddha, the major part of the verse is not earlier than the third century B.C. and much of the prose is later than the beginning of the Christian era; but he emphasizes that the date of every single *gāthā* must be determined independently of the rest.

The *Jātakas* have been edited by V. Fausböll in 6 volumes, with the index as a seventh volume by D. Andersen (London, 1877–97). There is an English translation edited by E. B. Cowell in 7 volumes (Cambridge, 1895–1913).

(10) Also forming part of the *Khuddaka* is the oldest Pāli commentary, known as the *Niddesa*. Comprising detailed glosses by Sariputta on 33 *suttas* from the last two *vaggas* of the *Sutta Nipāta*, this work is in two sections, *Mahā-niddesa* and *Chulla-niddesa*. It explains technical expressions by means of long lists of synonyms, repeated whenever the word recurs.

The *Mahā-niddesa* has been edited by L. de la Vallée Poussin and E. J. Thomas for the Pāli Text Society (London, 1916–7).

(11) The necessity of explaining the Buddhist canonical texts gave birth to a vast exegetical literature, among which is the *Milinda-Pañha* or *Questions of Milinda*. This work, couched in elegant prose, purports to be a discussion between King Milinda of Sāgala (Greek Menander) and Thera Nāgasena on disputed points of Buddhist doctrine. The original text, written in Sanskrit or some North-Indian Prākrit at the beginning of the Christian era, is no longer extant and the work now known as the *Milinda-pañha* is a Pāli translation made in Ceylon c. A.D. 400. Of the present seven books, only a small part of the first and all the second and third found a place in the original text. The rest were added at some period subsequent to the translation of the work into Chinese between A.D. 317 and 420. The *Milinda-pañha* has been edited by V. Trenckner (London, 1880), and translated into English by T. W. Rhys Davids in *The Sacred Books of the East* (Oxford, 1890–4).

(12) *Mahāvaṁsa*, the great chronicle of Ceylon, was begun in Pāli in the sixth century A.D. by Mahānāma. Based on the now lost *Aṭṭhakathā-Mahavaṁsa*, it records events subsequent to the death

of the Buddha (see G. C. Mendis, 'The Pali chronicles of Ceylon', *University of Ceylon Review*, Colombo, 1946, pp. 1 *et seq)*. Under the title *The Great Chronicle of Ceylon* (London, 1912), the *Mahāvaṁsa* has been translated into English by W. Geiger, assisted by Mabel H. Bode. There is also an edition of the text in roman characters, together with a translation and an introductory essay: Part I (chaps. 1–36) by G. Turnour (Colombo, 1887); Part II (chaps. 37–100) translated by L. C. Wijesinha (Colombo, 1909).

TAMIL LITERATURE

(13) *Paṭṭinappālai*, one of the *Patthuppāttu* or *Ten Idylls* of the Third Śaṅgam, is a moving song of love written by Rudran Kannanār at the end of the second or the beginning of the third century A.D. In addition to providing the reference to *Kāḷagam* discussed above, it also contains a detailed description of *Puhār*, the Cōḷa capital.

(14) *Śilappadikāram* is one of the five major epics composed probably during the second century A.D., the Augustan Age of Tamil literature. It has been described as the Iliad of Tamil poetry *(HCIP*, vol. ii, p. 301). The standard edition is that of Mahāmahopādhyaya Swaminatha Aiyar and there is an English translation by V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar (Oxford, 1939).

PART IV

The Arabs in Malaya

AN EXAMINATION OF THE ARAB RECORDS RELATING TO MALAYA FROM THE NINTH TO THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

INTRODUCTION

ARAB trading ships first began to penetrate the seas of South-East Asia early in the seventh century A.D. and continued to frequent those waters in search of spices and drugs for the next thousand years. It is not surprising therefore that the rich Arabic literature provides one of our main sources for the early history of the Malay Peninsula. But it is a source which must be used with caution, for the various authors upon whom we depend for our information were almost invariably writing at second-hand. Only Abū Dulaf and Ibn Baṭṭūṭah described places which they had seen personally, and it is not wholly without doubt whether either of them visited South-East Asia. Buzurg of Ramhurmuz did travel at least as far eastwards as India, as did Bīrūnī and Sīdī ʻAlī Selebī in later years, but all three depended on hearsay for their knowledge of the Far East. Maʻsūdī's claim to have visited South-East Asia and China in the tenth century is not likely to be valid. The rest of the Arab authors at best obtained their information from sailors and merchants in the ports of the Persian Gulf, but more often than not copied directly and extensively from earlier writers. Moreover, Arab voyagers to the East were merchants or mariners and not primarily explorers, so that their accounts tell us more about routes and products than about lands or peoples, while the Arab sailors did not fail to embellish their narratives with fanciful tales of monsters and prodigies. Some later and more scientific writers, in endeavouring to sift the authentic material from these tales, found themselves left with so few facts that they tried to supplement their accounts with borrowings from other sources, mainly Indian and Greek. So far as Malaya is concerned

these attempts only induced yet greater confusion, for the foreign works available were already obsolete when first known to the Arabs.

A great deal of the early Arab information relating to South-East Asia is found in compendia of sailors' tales such as comprise the famous *'Ajā'ib al-Hind (The Wonders of India)* by Buzurg of Ramhurmuz, the *'Akhbār aṣ-Ṣīn wa'l-Hind (Tales of China and India)* or the *Thousand and One Nights*. The descriptions of the Far East incorporated in these works were most probably traditional mariners' lore introduced as local colour, but their wealth of authentic local detail guarantees that they were derived originally from the experiences of actual travellers to China and South-East Asia. Other travel records such as those of Abū Zaid and Abū Dulaf are conceived in more sober strain and afford some of our most valuable descriptions of Malaya.

Of more formal design are the Arab topographies, of which Ibn Khurdādhbih's *Kitāb al-masālik wa'l-mamālik*, a hand-book of the routes of the Muslim empire for the use of directors of the postal services, is a typical example. Such works are simple topographical descriptions with no attempt at scientific classification, explanation or conclusion, and where they include a section on South-East Asia it is merely for the sake of completeness. The often impressive appearance of factual detail in these topographies is largely spurious for not infrequently the notices of foreign countries are abstracted piecemeal from anthologies of seamen's tales of the *'ajā'ib* type. Most of the topographers after about A.D. 1000 were compilers of the scissor-and-paste school who plagiarized each other shamelessly and added little to Arab knowledge of South-East Asia.

In a third category are the geographical treatises and dictionaries which became increasingly common after the eleventh century and of which Idrīsī's *Kitāb nuzhat al-mushtāḳ fi ikhtirāḳ al-āfāḳ* and Yāqūt's *Mu'jam al-buldān* are typical representatives. The form of these works tended to become stereotyped and, despite their pseudo-scientific superficies with latitudes and longitudes and Ptolemaic comparisons derived from al-Kwārizmī, very few contain new material. Like the Chinese encyclopedias discussed in Appendix I to Part II, they consist almost exclusively of quotations from earlier authors. Where these compilations do incorporate apparently original information, we must be on our guard to ensure that it is not abstracted from an earlier work now lost. The

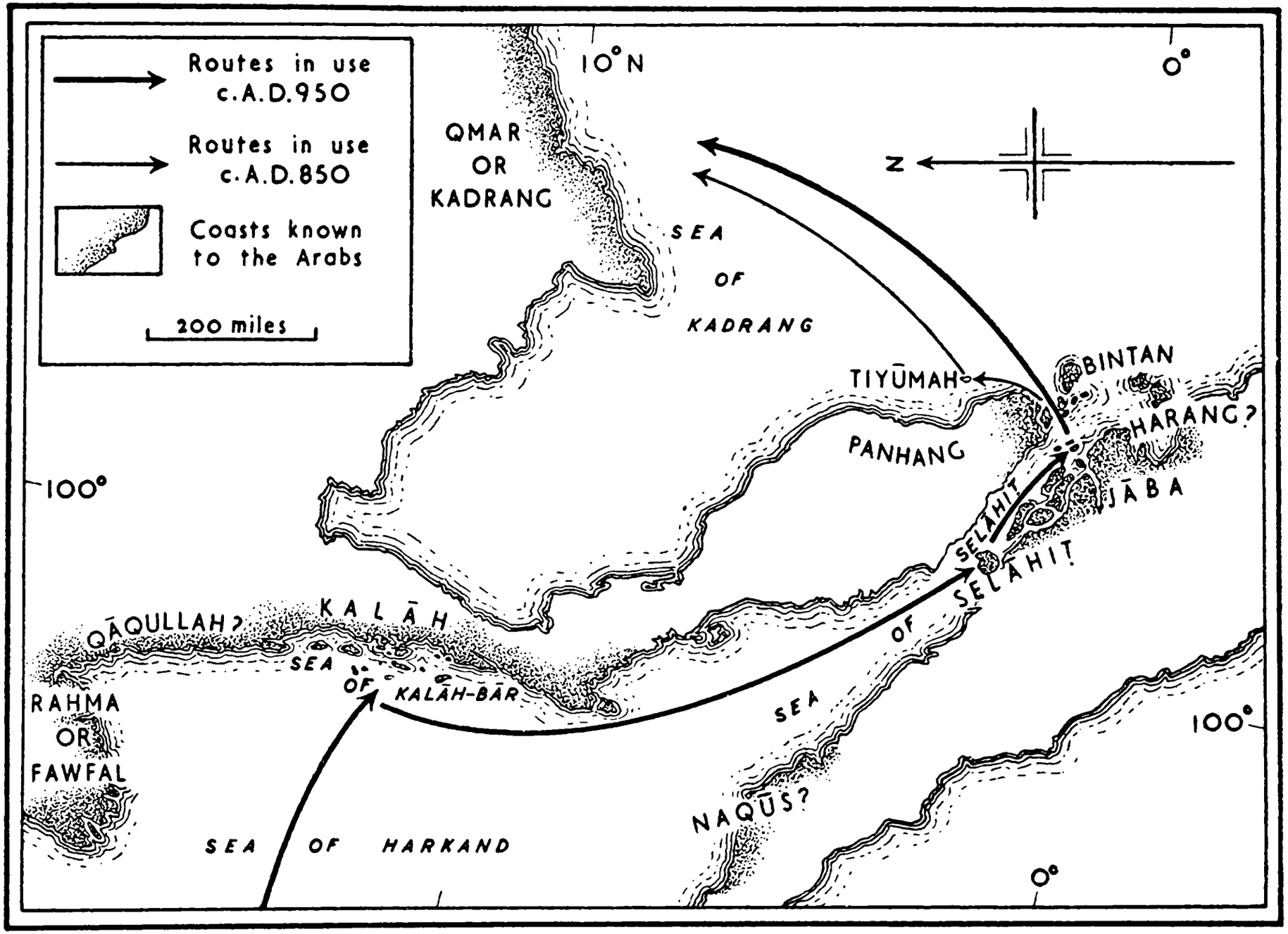

Fig. 37. The Malay Peninsula as known to the Arabs, A.D. 850–1000. Modified from G. R. Tibbetts, 'The Malay Peninsula as known to the Arab geographers', The Malayan Journal of Tropical Geography, *vol. 9 (1956), p. 28.*

exception to these strictures is Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, whose mid-fourteenth century account is the only original work on South-East Asia during this period.

While this fossilized knowledge of the East before A.D. 1000 remained the common currency of the Muslim academic world, Arab pilots of the Indian Ocean were accumulating practical information about the seas of the Archipelago. When they first began to embody this information in charts and sailing directories we do not know, but the earliest surviving examples date from the end of the fifteenth century and compare very favourably with contemporary Chinese and European knowledge. Two of these sailing directories (discussed in Chapter XV) provide the main framework for our knowledge of the coastal geography of the Malay Peninsula in the fifteenth century.

Apart from the difficulties of interpretation arising from the method of compilation of these various anthologies, treatises, dictionaries and directories, the historical geographer is confronted by numerous problems of a purely technical nature. In the first place it is no easy matter to decide the authenticity of many of the texts. None is in its original state and all the extant manuscripts have been copied several times, often by copyists who conceived it their duty also to edit.

A second set of difficulties arises from the inadequacy of the Arabic language for rendering foreign place-names. The lack of the English consonants *q*, *p*, *v* and *ch* in Arabic prevents the precise transliteration of names incorporating those sounds so that, for example, Malay *pulau* (=island) is rendered *fūl* or *būl*, Palembang as *Falimbān* and Sanskrit *dvīpa* as *dīb*. However, these renderings, inaccurate as they are, can be easily recognized. More important are those problems deriving from the nature of the Arabic script. In this script vowels are denoted by a series of dots known as diacritical points, while several consonants are distinguished only by the placing of such points. In early manuscripts it was customary to omit as many of these points as possible but, even where they are included, they are a potent source of copyists' errors, both by omission and misplacing. Thus the Arabic version of the island of Tioman, off the south-east coast of the Malay Peninsula, appears in different manuscripts of the same work as *Tiyūmah*, *Tanūmah*, *Betūmah*, *Sūmah*, and the Kingdom of *Zābaj* or *Zābadj* as *Rānadj* or *Rāndj*, *Rānaḥ* or *Rānḥ*, *Zāladj* and *Rāladj*. In these two instances we

are fortunate enough to be able to obtain an approximation to the correct readings from other sources, but whether *Māīt*, *Māyit*, *Māyat*, *Māqat*, *Mābat* or *Māfat* is the best transliteration of another old South-East Asian place-name we have no means of knowing.[1] These difficulties are in no way mitigated by the fact that the names which we are endeavouring to restore were not the true names of actual places so much as sailors' versions picked up by hearsay.

Arabic scholars have been speculating on the location of early South-East Asian place-names ever since Renaudot published his translation of the *'Akhbār aṣ-Ṣīn wa'l-Hind* in 1718. Notable among nineteenth century students of these problems were Gildemeister in 1838, Reinaud in 1845 and Maury in 1846, who set as high a standard of exact scholarship as the material available permitted. Less happy were the essays of Gustave Schlegel and Colonel Gerini at the turn of the century, but five decades of barren pedantry were more than compensated by the publication in 1913–4 of Ferrand's great collection of Arab, Persian and Turkish texts. In the two volumes of this work are gathered together French translations of virtually all the known references to the Far East in the whole range of Arabic literature, and today, some forty years after its publication, the *Relations de voyages* is still an indispensable hand-book for the student of early Malayan historical geography. This is not to say, however, that all Ferrand's identifications, heavily influenced as they were by his predilection for philological correspondences, have stood the test of time. Much of his preface to the *Relations* is concerned with establishing an equivalence between Arabic consonants and those of other languages. On page VIII he writes: 'Lorsqu'on veut rapprocher étymologiquement les leçons sanskrite, grecque, arabe, chinoise d'un même toponyme, il va de soi qu'on doit établir rigoureusement l'équivalence des phonèmes différents de toutes les leçons, en prenant pour point de départ le nom indigène, s'il est connu, ou la transcription étrangère qui paraît le mieux attestée et qui a le plus de chance d'être exacte'. But we are dealing not so much with place-names evolving through philological laws of change as with names hardly grasped from a foreign tongue and inevitably

[1] The dangers of uncritical acceptance of casual transliterations are exemplified by Gerini's location of two variant readings of the one place *Tiyūmah* in different parts of the Archipelago (*Researches*, pp. 524, note and 574–5).

mispronounced or even rationalized by sailors, merchants and travellers, and such transformations are outside the scope of linguistic science. This pitfall was avoided by Mr. G. R. Tibbetts, to whom we are indebted for a meticulous English translation of early Arab descriptions of the Malay Peninsula.[1] Employing etymological correspondences sparingly, and then only those of the most obvious kind, he has sketched in for us an outline of Arab knowledge of Malaya. In this section I have relied wholly upon this author's translations and drawn heavily upon his detailed knowledge of early Arab literature. Where, as in the location of *Kalāh*, I have ventured to differ from him in the interpretation of the evidence, I have done so only after most careful consideration. Such differences of opinion have derived mainly from my enjoyment of an advantage denied to Tibbetts, namely the fact that I have been able to examine the Arab accounts in the light of my analysis of the other three great bodies of evidence in Chinese, Indian and Western languages. Tibbetts perforce had to study his texts very largely in the context of Muslim geography, inadequately supplemented by piecemeal references to the other literatures, many from the pens of pioneers working in the first two decades of this century.

[1] 'The Malay Peninsula as known to the Arab geographers', *MJTG*, vol. ix (1956), pp. 21–60.

CHAPTER XIV

'THE WONDERS OF INDIA'

So great is the difference in quality between the information available for the periods before and after the fifteenth century, that is, between the practical knowledge of the Arab pilots and the academic pedantry of earlier topographers and lexicographers, that it has seemed best to treat these two periods separately. I shall accordingly in this chapter examine the evidence, mainly from anthologies and topographies, bearing on the condition of Malaya during the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries. This I shall supplement with fresh information from those encyclopedias and dictionaries which, although compiled during later periods, refer chiefly to the years preceding A.D. 1000.

The picture of Malaya which emerges from this study is far from clear. Some six place-names can be correlated fairly certainly with localities on the Peninsula, while there is also brief mention of neighbouring seas. It is also possible to draw certain conclusions about the routes followed by Arab voyagers at different periods; but the main interest lies in the correlation of some of the Arab place-names, notably *Kalāh* and *Qāqullah*, with others mentioned in Chinese and Indian records. Here, too, we meet for the first time two modern place-names, Tioman and Pahang, albeit the latter is in somewhat dubious disguise. Such information as we possess about these matters is set out below, place-name by place-name, but it should be noted that only the original passages attributable to each author are quoted here. Repetitions by subsequent encyclopedists and the like are omitted.

1. KALĀH[1]*

A. Early Travellers and Geographers

(i) *'Akhbār aṣ-Ṣīn wa'l-Hind.*

[From *Lanjabālūs*, that is, the Nicobar Islands] the ships set sail for a place called *Kalāh-bār*, the word *-bār* meaning both kingdom and coast.[2] It is a kingdom belonging to *al-Zabāj* (=*Śrī Vijaya*) and lies on the right (i.e. south) of the land of India. [The people] are all subject to the authority of a king, and

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* For footnotes 1 and 2 see following page.

they dress in *fūṭah*.[3] Both the nobility and the common people are clothed only in one *fūṭah*. They [sailors?] take on fresh water there from wells, the water of which they prefer to that from springs and rain. The distance between *Kulam* [*-malay=Quilon*], which is near *Harkand*, and *Kalāh-bār* is a month.[4] Then the ship voyages to a place called *Tiyūmah* (=Tioman. See p. 229 below) which has fresh water for anyone who desires it, and the distance thither is 10 days.

(ii) *Abū Zaid.*

The king of *al-Zabāj* counts among his possessions the island of *Kalāh* which is situated midway between the land of China and the country of the Arabs. It is eighty parasangs[5] in circumference. *Kalāh* is the centre of commerce for aloeswood, camphor, sandalwood, ivory, tin, ebony, *baquamwood*,[6] spices of all kinds and a host of objects too numerous to count. It is thither that the trading expeditions which start from Oman go, and thence set out for the country of the Arabs.

(iii) *Abū Dulaf.*

[After leaving *Sandābil* in China] I desired to go to *Kalāh*. This is the beginning of India and the last place where one can obtain boats, for it is not possible for them to pass it without shipwreck. When I arrived at *Kalāh* I found it very great, with great walls, numerous gardens and abundant springs. I found there a tin-mine such as does not exist in any other part of the world except in its *Qal'ah* (fortress). In this fortress they forge the *Qala'ī* swords, which are the true Indian swords. The people of this fortress put themselves in a state of defence against their king when they wish to make him respect their interests. Their usages are identical with those of China, and they do not practise the custom of cutting the throats [of animals before eating them].

In the entire world there does not exist such a tin mine as the one in this *Qal'ah*. [The people] have a system of justice, prison and fines. They live on wheat, dates, vegetables (which are sold by weight) and flat cakes of bread (sold by quantity). They have no baths, but wash themselves in running water. Their *dirham* (silver coin[7]) weighs two-thirds of an ordinary *dirham*, which is called a *fahri*. They have a little money, which they use for barter. They dress as the Chinese, in a single piece of cloth called Chinese *firand*[8], which is very dear. The king is a vassal of the king of China and makes the *khutba*[9] in the name of the latter.

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[1] All the translations in this and the following chapter are essentially the work of G. R. Tibbetts, though here and there I have taken the liberty of altering a word or phrase. Many of the notes are also adopted from Tibbetts's paper in the *MJTG*, vol. ix (1956), pp. 21–60.

[2] The meaning of *-bār* is uncertain: see Sauvaget *Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde*, p. 69.

[3] The Arab term for a loose loin-cloth. Here used to denote the Malay sarong.

[4] For an alternative translation of this admittedly obscure passage see Sauvaget, *'Akhbār aṣ-Ṣīn wa'l-Hind*, pp. 8–9.

[5] One *parasang*=from 3 to 3½ miles.

[6] Identified in *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 113 as brazil-wood.

[7] It has been suggested that this was a coin of the Khorāsān Ṭāhiri dynasty (Elliot and Dowson, *Early Arab Geographers*, p. 4, note 5).

[8] The text has *al-afr.nd*, presumably the *al-firand* of Ibn Khurdādhbih which, according to Tibbetts (*MJTG*, 1956, note 7, p. 45) was a kind of silk imported from China. Tibbetts concludes that Abū Dulaf is here referring to the Malay sarong.

[9] The Friday sermon in the mosque. The most binding token of allegiance in the Muslim world was the mention of a ruler in prayers.

The *qibla*[1] of the king of *Kalāh* is oriented towards him, and the house of prayer of the king of *Kalāh* is dedicated to the king of China.

Between this city and the city of China are 300 *parasangs* and around it are a succession of cities, towns and villages.

(iv) *Sindbad's Fourth Voyage* (from the *Thousand and one nights*).

From [the island of *al-Nāqūs*—unidentified] we went in six days to that of *Kalāh*. Then we entered the kingdom of *Kalāh*. It is a great empire bordering on India, in which there are mines of tin, plantations of bamboo and excellent camphor. The king is a powerful ruler, and also governs the island of *al-Nāqūs*, in which there is a town also called *al-Nāqūs*, which is two days in extent.

(v) *Buzurg*.

All the inhabitants of *Fanṣūr* (=Barus), *Lāmurī* (modern Acheh), *Kalāh*, *Qāqullah* (p. 224 below), *Ṣanfin* (p. 230 below) and other neighbouring districts are cannibals, but only eat their enemies out of vengeance, not from need. They cut the flesh into strips, then dry it and prepare it in various ways. Then they serve it with wine.

Srībūza (=*Śrī Vijaya*), which is situated at the extremity of the isle of *Lāmurī*, is 120 zam[2] from *Kalāh*.

(vi) *Ibn Khurdādhbih*.

From Lanjabālūs to the island of *Kilah* is six days. This island belongs to the kingdom of Jābat al-Hindī.[3] It contains famous mines of *al-Qala'i* tin and plantations of bamboo. To the left and at two days from the island of *Kilah* is the island of *Bālūs* (=Barus).

(vii) *Ya'qūbī*.

The fourth sea [of the Indian Ocean] is called *Kalāh-bār*, and it has little water. It has large serpents. Often the wind blows so strongly that the ships are broken. It contains islands where camphor trees are found.

(viii) *Ibn al-Faqīh*.

[Quotes from the same source as does the *'Akhbār as-sīn* (p. 216 above), but mentions bamboo as a product of the island.]

(ix) *Ibn Rustah*.

Those who wish to go to *al-Zabāj* go eastwards as far as *Kalāh* and from there, the land of *al-Zabāj*.

(x) *Mas'ūdī (Murūj al-Dhahab)*.

. . . the kingdoms of the Mahārāja, the king of the isles of *al-Zabāj*, *Kalāh*, *Serendīb* (Ceylon). . . .

Around the countries of *Kalāh* and *Srībūza* are mines of gold and silver.

Then he [the trader] went by sea to the land of *Killah* (i.e., *Kalāh*) which is a little more than half way to China. Today this town is the general rendezvous

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[1] The direction of Mecca, whither Muslims turn in prayer.

[2] One *zam*=3 hours (Ferrand, *Relations de voyages*, p. 581, note 2, but see also Tomaschek in Bittner, *Die topographischen Capitel des Indischen Seespiegels Moḥīṭ*, pp. 21–2).

[3] The Hindu Jāba. See p. 219 below.

of the Muslim ships of *Siraf*[1] and Oman, where they meet the ships of China, but it was not so once . . . this trader then embarked on a Chinese ship in order to go from *Killah* to China.

The fourth sea, as we have said, is that of *Kalāh-bār*, that is, the sea of *Kalāh*. Like all seas which have little water, it is dangerous and difficult to navigate. One meets there many islands which sailors call *surr* (in the plural *sara'ir*), which is the point of junction between two straits or canals.

(xi) *Mukhtaṣar al-'ajā'ib.*

[Quotes Ibn Khurdādhbih and Abū Zaid, but adds] The island of *Kalāh* is a large island inhabited by Indians; there are mines of tin and plantations of bamboo.

(xii) *Bīrūnī.*

Mentions that the equator runs between *Kalāh* and *Srībūza*.

B. Later Geographers

(i) *Idrīsī.*

[States that it is 6 days from *Lanjabālūs* to *Kalāh* and then, obviously quoting uncritically from another source, adds] . . . and it is 5 [days] from this last *(Lanjabālūs)* to the island of *Kalāh*, which is very large and where there lives a king by the name of Jābat al-Hindī. There is a tin mine rich in tin. The metal is very pure and bright, but merchants adulterate it after its extraction from the mine and take it away to other places. The dress of the inhabitants is a *fūtah* and is the same for men and women. The island produces rattan and excellent camphor. [Then follows a description of the extraction of camphor.]

(ii) *Yāqūt (Mu'jam al-buldān).*

The equator passes through the island of *Kalāh* . . . a land at the extremity of India whence is exported aloeswood. Abū'l-'Abbās, the poet, to Saif al-Dawlah said: 'She gives out a perfume as pungent as musk rolled in the fingers, or as Kalāhī aloes'.

[It is also a port in the Indian Ocean midway between Oman and China, and situated on the equator.]

(iii) *Yāqūt (Marāṣid al-iṭṭilā').*

Kalāh is a town on the edge of India and exports aloeswood; *al-Qal'ah* is a lead[2] mine. There is one in *Kalāh*, which is the first country in India, on the edge of China.

(iv) *Yāqūt (al-Mushtarik).*

al-Qal'ah is a country at the beginning of India, on the edge of China, where one gets *al-Qal'ī* lead (i.e., tin) and *al-Qal'ī* swords. [He quotes from Abū Dulaf.]

(v) *Qazwīnī.*

[Quotes Abū Dulaf but adds nothing original.]

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[1] The ruins of this port which was, until its destruction by an earthquake in A.D. 977, one of the most important entrepôts of the Muslim world, are located near Bender-Ṭāhiri on the shores of the Persian Gulf in 27° 38′ N. latitude.

[2] *Qal'ī* in modern Arabic = white lead but was used for tin in classical Arabic.

(vi) *Ibn Sa'īd.*

In the south-east corner [of Jawa] is the town of *Kalāh*, well known to travellers and renowned for its *al-kalahī* tin. This town is situated at 154° 12′ longitude.

(vii) *Dimashqī.*

[Records a sea of *Ḳalāh;* and also an island of *Kalāh* some 800 miles by 300 in which there are four towns *Fanṣūr* (=Baros), *al-Jāwa*, *Malāyur* (=Jambi), *Lāwrī* (=*Lāmurī*) and *Kalāh*, the largest. All this is copied from Ibn Sa'īd, where it refers to Java].

There are elephants, introduced from the continent and trained and caparisoned for the kings of the country. [Here follows a long description of elephants.]

(viii) *Abū'l-Fidā'.*

After the *Qānūn* [*al-Mas'ūdī*][1] and [*Kitāb*] *al-Aṭwāl* [*wa'l-urūd*][2] the island of *Kalāh* is 130° longitude and 8° latitude. It is to the south of the first climate, in the sea of India. It is the port of all the regions between Oman and China. Tin is exported from there, which bears its name. Muhallabī in his *'Azīzī* says, the isle of *Kalāh* is in the sea of India. There is a prosperous town inhabited by Muslims, Indians and Persians. Mines of tin can be found there, plantations of bamboo and camphor trees. Twenty *majra* separate it from the Isles of the Mahārāja.

(ix) *Bakūwī.*

Kalāh is a town of India . . . it is situated on the continent under the equator. [Bakūwī also repeats some of the information noted in other writers above but arranges it under the heading *Kalba.*]

(x) *Other texts.*

(i) In his treatise on the nature of medicaments Ibn Serapion mentions camphor as a product of *Kalāh.*

(ii) In *Muntah al-idrāk fi taqāsim al-aflāk* Kharaqī refers to the island of *Kalāh* whence tin is exported.

(iii) In *Jāmi' mufradāt* Ibn al-Baiṭar mentions *Kalāh* as a source of camphor.

(iv) In the third volume of *Ain-i-Akbari* Abū'l-Faẓl 'Allāmī places *Kalāh* in long. 140°, lat. 8°.

Despite the ambiguities and contradictions in the evidence set out above all scholars are agreed that *Kalāh* was an important trading centre and watering-place on the route between India and China. The town, with its fine walls enclosing a fortress and numerous well-watered gardens, served as the capital of a populous and prosperous region.

With regard to the political allegiance owed by *Kālah* the several Arab authors are at variance but all are agreed on its dependence on a more powerful empire. Abū Dulaf in the mid-tenth century describes a rebellious kingdom owing allegiance to China. If this were indeed so, then its dependence could have amounted to

[1] Written c. A.D. 1040 by Bīrūnī.

[2] Written in the tenth century by al-Fāris.

nothing more than a formal dispatch of tribute, possibly induced by the blandishments of an embassy similar to those which visited several kingdoms on the east coast of the Peninsula (see Part I above). On the other hand Tibbetts[1] suspects that Abū Dulaf may have obtained his information from interested sources in China who misrepresented the *Nan-Hai* as a Chinese lake. On this subject Ibn Khurdādhbih, on the whole one of the more reliable of ninth-century Arab topographers, is unusually obscure when he describes *Kalāh* as a dependency of the Indian kingdom ruled over by Jāba.[2] This is extremely unlikely but could possibly have been an idea foisted on to Ibn Khurdādhbih's informants by some Indian acquaintances. An ingenious theory proposed by Tibbetts[3] to explain this phrase makes use of the fact that *Jāba* is also the name of an island which Ibn Khurdādhbih and subsequent authors would seem to locate to the south of the Malay Peninsula. It is thus just possible that Jābat al-Hindī refers to a Hindu ruler of Java *(Jāba)* as opposed to the Śailendran Mahārāja who was a Mahāyāna Buddhist. Finally, in the *'Akhbār aṣ-Ṣīn wa'l-Hind*, *Kalāh* is a dependency of *Zābaj* or *Śrī Vijaya*. This is in accord with what we know about the expansion of the *Śrī Vijayan* thalassocracy from other sources (page 292 below) and is almost certainly the correct account.

On the commerical role of *Kalāh* our authors are fairly explicit, picturing it as an entrepôt for the collection and transhipment of jungle products, mainly scented woods, and above all tin. Idrīsī's note on the adulteration of this last commodity is a tincture of verisimilitude which goes far to guarantee that particular remark in a text usually of dubious value so far as South-East Asia is concerned. To Abū Zaid and Mas'ūdī *Kalāh* was the rendezvous for Arab ships from the Middle East with those from China, which here probably means any land to the eastward of Singapore Strait (cp. page 258 below). Abū'l-Fidā's Muslims, Indians (Hindus) and Persians (Zoroastrians) were presumably traders established in the port, but it is improbable that they were the only communities making up the population of *Kalāh*. The indigenous folk at least would have comprised a significant proportion. Most probably

[1] *MJTG*, vol. ix (1956), p. 30.

[2] The Chālukyas have been suggested, though without any degree of plausibility. For a résumé of this problem see Tibbetts, *MJTG*, vol. ix (1956), p. 30.

[3] *MJTG*, vol. ix (1956), p. 30.

Abū'l-Fidā' mentioned only those people whom he thought would be of interest to his Muslim readers.

Thus far there is unlikely to be serious disagreement among historical geographers, but on the question of the precise location of *Kalāh* there is less unanimity. Apart from the orientalists of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries who saw in this name corruptions of Malabar,[1] Coromandel[2] and Galle[3] (in Ceylon), the majority of authors have located *Kalāh* on the Malay Peninsula. Alfred Maury,[4] the first to hold this view, favoured Kědah, an opinion with which Quatremère,[5] Walckenaer,[6] Van der Lith,[7] de Goeje,[8] Tomaschek,[9] Le Strange,[10] Nilakanta Sastri,[11] and the most authoritative of recent investigators, Jean Sauvaget,[12] concur. Groeneveldt[13] and Schlegel,[14] on the other hand, while proposing the identity of *Kalāh* and the kingdom known to the Chinese as *Ko-lo* 哥羅, sought a location in the vicinity of Kra, an identification adopted by Ferrand[15] on linguistic grounds. Kern[16] and Fokker[17] had both shown that the Malay *d* was pronounced very like *l* so that the Malay *Kalāh* would sound to an Arab ear very similar to Kědah. Ferrand contested the plausibility of this conclusion and sought to demonstrate that the Malay *r* was usually reproduced in Arabic by *lam*. Hence his identification of *Kalāh* with Kra.

Whether or not these several protagonists were correct in their linguistic views must remain a subject for the philologist, and it is doubtful if he has yet made sufficient progress in the study of

[1] Renaudot, *Anciennes relations des Indes et de la Chine.*
[2] Gildemeister, *Scriptorum arabicorum de rebus Indicis.*
[3] Reinaud, *Relations des voyages.*
[4] *BSG*, (1846), pp. 203–38.
[5] *JS*, (1846), pp. 729–31.
[6] *Nouvelles annales des voyages*, p. 19.
[7] *Le livre des merveilles de l'Inde*, pp. 256–64, 279, 308.
[8] *Kitāb al-masālik wa'l-mamālik.*
[9] *Die topographischen Capitel.*
[10] *IG*, vol. iii (1889), p. 297.
[11] *BEFEO*, tome 40 (1940), p. 272.
[12] *Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde*, p. 43.
[13] 'Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca', pp. 241–3.
[14] *TP*, vol. x (1899), pp. 464–9.
[15] *JA*, tome xiv (1919), pp. 241–33. See also tome xiii (1919), pp. 312, 438, 439; tome xii (1918), pp. 89, 103; and tome ccii (1923), p. 31.
[16] Quoted in Ferrand, *JA*, tome xiv (1919), pp. 214–5 and Van der Lith, *Le livre des merveilles de l'Inde*, p. 308.
[17] *Malay Phonetics*, pp. 47–8.

Eastern languages to be able to pronounce on these matters with certainty. Other scholars, and notably Tibbetts, have tried to deduce the position of *Kalāh* by collating the sailing information recorded by the several Arab authors, but the most ingenious theories have invariably been subverted by the antinomian character of the evidence. More rewarding than either of these approaches is, we believe, the implication of certain remarks by Abū Dulaf, namely the mention of an exceptionally productive tin-mine within the very walls of *Kalāh*, taken in conjunction with Mas'ūdī's description of the Sea of *Kalāh-bār*. Other writers also mention these features, though in less detail. On the Peninsula tin deposits are found at several points along the west coast (Fig. 3). They occur on the beach, for example, a short distance south of the Linggi estuary in Malacca State. Further north Puket Island has been described as 'a gigantic tin-mine',[1] where even the main street of the town and the harbour have been dredged,[2] while along the Burmese section of the Peninsula deposits are to be found in the Thaton, Tavoy and Mergui districts. So far as the production of tin is concerned each of these districts could have been the site of *Kalāh*, but only one borders a seaway such as that described by Mas'ūdī and Ya'qūbī, namely the Mergui coast, which is fringed by a belt of some eight hundred islands. The difficulties of navigation through the creeks and branching channels of this archipelago are exemplified prosaically enough in the Admiralty Pilot.[3] The following remarks can be parallelled many times in other parts of this archipelago: 'in shaping this course, the tidal streams . . . must be allowed for, as the soundings give little warning of the approach to dangers'; 'but none of the channels between these islands should be used, as the tidal streams are strong and irregular'; 'between these islets and Kisseraing island is foul ground, with numerous patches which dry'; 'Bhadra reef extends about 1¼ miles offshore for about 3 miles southward of Maw-gaung don; on the outer part of this reef, about 1¾ miles southward of Maw-gaung don, is a rock on which the S.S. *Bhadra* struck, in 1912, having a draught of 8 feet'. Small wonder then that, as Abū Dulaf says, it was impossible to navigate this sea without shipwreck.

[1] H. W. Smyth, *Five years in Siam*, vol. 1 (London, 1898), p. 317.
[2] W. R. Jones, *Tinfields of the World* (London, 1925), p. 216.
[3] *Bay of Bengal pilot* (Seventh edition, London, 1940), pp. 342–86.

Thus on the available evidence the Tenasserim coast is a much more likely location for *Kalāh* than is Kĕdah, though whether the name is philologically derivable from Kra is a matter which the linguists can still debate. It is true that tin has been worked both near Yen north of Kĕdah Peak and at Sĕmiling and Tupah to the south, but only in small quantities. Moreover, the main settlement in the Kĕdah of the first millenium centred on the Bujang valley (Chapter XVIII) so that the mines could hardly have been within the circuit of the walls.[1] Neither does that part of the Malacca Strait off the Kĕdah coast answer to Mas'ūdī's description. One other product of *Kalāh* also points to the Mergui district, namely the plantations of bamboo mentioned by several authors. This plant flourishes only on well-drained slopes such as those of the Tenasserim hills.[2] In the coastal lowlands it occurs only in isolated clumps. Finally, for what it is worth, the largest island off the mouth of the Tenasserim River is today called Kala.

2. QĀQULLAH

A. Early Travellers and Geographers

(i) *Abū Dulaf.*

I continued my voyage [from *Kalāh*] to a town called *Jājullah*, which is on top of a mountain of which half juts out to sea and half is on dry land. There they have a king like the one of *Kalāh*. They eat wheat and eggs, but they do not eat fish, nor do they slaughter animals. They have a large house of prayer. They were the only ones to oppose Alexander when he came to the land of India. They bring cinnamon here and then export it to the rest of the world. The cinnamon tree belongs to everyone communally and has no particular owner. The inhabitants dress as do the people of *Kalāh*, except that they wear a Yemeni robe *(hibara)* on feast days. They venerate from among the constellations the heart of the Lion.[3] They possess an observatory and have a complete knowledge of the stars, and study their properties assiduously.

(ii) *Buzurg.*

The people of *Fanṣūr* (Barus), *Lāmurī* (Acheh), *Kalāh* (page 216 above), *Qāqullah*, *Ṣanfīn* (page 230 below) and other neighbouring places are cannibals . . .

I questioned Muḥammad b. Bābishād about monkeys, and he told me that on the coast of *Ṣanfīn*, in the valley of *Lāmurī* and in that of *Qāqullah* live monkeys of an extraordinary height, going about in troupes of which the chief is the

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[1] The only evidence for early settlement near the tin deposits of this locality is some tiles and pieces of coarse pottery from a late, perhaps fifteenth century, site just west of the estuary of the Batu River (Wales, *JMBRAS*, vol. xviii, pt. 1, 1940, p. 45).

[2] Cp. Burkill, vol. i, p. 290. I am indebted to Dr. C. A. Gibson-Hill for drawing my attention to this point.

[3] *Regulus* in the constellation Leo.

tallest. Occasionally they leave the woods and come on to the roads and paths and strike travellers, refusing to allow them to pass until they leave a piece of meat or other food.

[Muḥammad b. Bābishād states that a sailor off a boat which belonged to him told the following tale. He fled in a small boat from his ship which was beached in a small bay two or three parasangs from *Qāqullah*]. 'A difficult voyage of twenty or more *zam*, during which I nearly perished, took me to the shore of one of the islands of *Armanān*.[1] I stayed there for some time to recuperate, taking rest and making provision of fresh water, fruits and bananas. I saw no one except fishermen in their canoes which they brought down among the trees. Re-embarking, I sailed without direction, not knowing whither I was going for 70 *zam*, and came across an island called *Badfārkalāh*,[2] where I stopped. From there I was able to reach *Kalāh*.'

(iii) *Ya'qūbī (from Nuwairī).*

After the amber (i.e. ambergris[3]) of *Salāhiṭ* comes that of *Qāqullah*, which is a clear grey, has an excellent perfume and a fine appearance. It is light and fairly dry. It is not like that of *Salāhiṭ*, which is used for making the sweetmeat *ghalīya*, nor is it used for purification except in cases of necessity, but it is used as an eye-salve and by lime-burners. This amber[gris] is brought from the sea of *Qāqullah* to Aden. After the aloeswood of *Qāqullah* comes that of *Ṣanf (=Campā)*.

B. Later Geographers

(i) *Idrīsī.*

The inhabitants [of *Qāqullah*] have a great deal of silk, wherefore they give the name *Qāqulli* to a sort of silk and a kind of cloth.

From *Lūqīn* (for *Lūfīn*=Lung-pien in the delta of the Red River), on the shores of Hindustan, to *Qāqullah* is 7 days. *Qāqullah* is on the bank of a river which flows into the Indian *Bahnak*.[4] From there to *Qashmir* is 10 days.

(ii) *Qazwīnī.*

The Mount of al-Jādūr is in the land of *Qāqullah* in *al-Zābaj (=Śrī Vijaya)*. A kind of white falcon with red head feathers is found there, together with white monkeys bearded like rams, and another kind of monkey with a white belly and a black back.

(iii) *Ibn Sa'īd.*

East of *Fawfal* (possibly deltaic Burma[5]) are the mountains of *Qāqullah*. They contain districts and towns, among which is that of *Qāqullah* 150° long. and 21°

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[1] According to Ferrand an error for Andaman (*Relations de voyages*, vol. ii, p. 581). But note that Ibn Rustah *(Kitāb al-a'lāḳ an-nafisah)* mentions a place-name *al-Arman* (of which *Armanān* is the dual form) which De Goeje and Ferrand suggest may be an aberrant version of the Sanskrit *Rāmaṇya*=Pegu (*Relations de voyages*, vol. 1, p. 71).

[2] Unidentified. Tibbetts (*MJTG*, vol. ix, p. 35) suggests (i) a possible connexion with the *Butom Bāshkalā* of Sulaimān al-Mahrī (*q.v.*, p. 236 below) or (ii) Pulau Butang, which also seems to have played an important role in Arab navigation on this coast (p. 234 below).

[3] Burkill, *A dictionary of the economic products of the Malay Peninsula*, vol. i, p. 129.

[4] Idrīsī's map shows *Bahnak* as an unidentifiable river.

[5] *Vide* Tibbetts, *MJTG*, vol. ix (1956), p. 28. This identification is consonant with Ferrand's suggestion (*Relations de voyages*, p. 647, note 2) which equates *Fawfal* with the *Māppappāḷam* of the Tanjore inscription (p. 200 above), even though his proposed location cannot be accepted.

50′ lat. There is a river which runs down from a mountain in the north, passes to the east, and flows into the great river of *Ṭarāghā*. To the east of the land of *Qāqullah* is a great range of mountains which extends from the line of the fourth climate to the Indian Ocean. This chain divides *Qāqullah* from the people of *al-Ḥanaba*, of which the capital is *al-Ḥanaba*, which is to the east of the great river *Ṭarāghā*. Then come twelve ranges and twelve rivers to China.

(iv) *Ibn Baṭṭūṭah.*

Qāqullah and *Qmāra* (Khmers) are part of the territories of the king of *Mūl-Jāwa* (Java[1]). On reaching the port of *Qāqullah* we found there a number of junks preparing to make piratical raids, and also to deal with any junks that might attempt to resist their exactions, for they impose a tribute on each junk [calling at that place]. We went ashore to *Qāqullah*, which is a fine town with a wall of hewn stone, broad enough for three elephants to walk abreast on it. The first thing I saw outside the town was elephants bearing loads of Indian aloes, which they burn in their houses and which fetch the same price as firewood with us or even less. That is when they are selling amongst themselves; to the merchants on the other hand they sell a load of it for a roll of cotton cloth, which is dearer in their land than silk. Elephants are very numerous there; they ride on them and use them to carry loads. Every person has his elephants picketed at his door, and every shopkeeper his elephant picketed near him for riding on to his house and for carrying loads. The same is the case with all the people of China and Cathay.[2]

The usual form of this place-name is *Qāqullah* but Abū Dulaf and his followers prefer *Jājullah* or, possibly, *Gāgullah*. The arch-plagiarist Qazwīnī, borrowing uncritically from two sources, mentions both *Qāqullah* and *Jājullah*.[3] The location of this walled town on its promontory has evoked almost as many theories as has the problem of *Kalāh*, but on the evidence at present available it is unlikely that the question will ever be settled definitively.

Apart from the fact that *Qāqullah* was beyond *Kalāh* on the sea route from China to India, the information about its precise position is ambiguous and not infrequently contradictory. Tibbetts advances reasons to suppose that some of the authors, with no local knowledge, were simply reading names off a map.[4] Buzurg's itinerary, on the other hand, obscure though it be, carries the cachet of truth. Its vagueness is that of a good tale oft repeated by raconteurs ignorant of Eastern geography but preserving the substance of the action. Despite the difficulty of identifying *Armanān* and *Badfārkalāh*, there can be little doubt that the

[1] For a most lucid discussion of this place-name see Tibbetts, *MJTG*, vol. ix (1956), p. 37.

[2] Tibbetts (*MJTG*, vol. ix, p. 37) has shown that, although this passage is interpolated in the section on *Mūl-Jāwa* (= Java), it is self-contained and implies no connexion with Java other than that stated in the first sentence.

[3] For brief remarks on certain etymological notions relating to *Qāqullah* see pp. 270–1 below.

[4] *MJTG*, vol. ix (1956), p. 35.

deserter was roaming around the north-eastern shores of the Bay of Bengal. Buzurg's assertion that the inhabitants of *Qāqullah* were cannibals, incompatible with Abū Dulaf and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's picture of a civilized community, was probably an accretion to the story born of popular imagination.

The commercial products of *Qāqullah* afford little evidence of identification. Aloeswood occurs widely throughout South-East Asia, but that of *Qāqullah* was ranked fourth in order of quality by Avicenna;[1] cinnamon of different sorts is also common on the peninsula, although the true cinnamon bark *(Cinnamomum zeylanicum)* is found only on the western slopes of the Tenasserim hills; ambergris occurs in small quantities in the sea off Acheh; silk must have been a re-export. Neither can the natural history recorded by Qazwīnī be used to define the precise location of *Qāqullah*. The description of the monkeys is too vague to allow of their identification, and no white falcon with a red head is found as a regular species in South-East Asia. However, Dr. Gibson-Hill[2] points out that an untrained observer might possibly so describe the cattle egret *(Ardeola ibis)* in its breeding plumage. This bird breeds in the vicinity of the Kra Isthmus from April to August.

In the absence of sufficient evidence to define the precise position of *Qāqullah*, historical imaginations have rioted through South-East Asia. Van der Lith, for example, suggested Angkola in the interior of Sumatra;[3] Colonel Gerini was certain it was a city on the Gulf of Siam,[4] an identification which received the approbation of Sir Henry Yule[5] and of Hirth and Rockhill.[6] In 1912, after some preliminary skirmishing with the problem, Pelliot[7] decided in favour of the west coast of the Malay Peninsula and, generally speaking, scholars have been content to acquiesce in this opinion. Ferrand alone introduced a refinement when he envisaged two places of the same name, one in eastern Indo-China and the other

[1] *Vide* Ferrand, *Relations de voyages*, vol. 1, pp. 284–5.

[2] Personal communication.

[3] *Merveilles de l'Inde*, pp. 237–41, note.

[4] *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography*, pp. 387, note 4; 444, note 2; 549, 756; 759; 811 and 832–3.

[5] *Cathay and the way thither*, vol. iv, p. 157.

[6] *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 11, note 10.

[7] *TP*, vol. xiii (1912), p. 455. For earlier opinions see e.g. *BEFEO*, vol. iv (1904).

on the eastern shores of the Bay of Bengal.[1] Tibbetts with scholarly caution refrains from adding to this confusion.[2] One point should not go unnoticed, however, namely the parallelism between the Arab *Qāqullah* beyond *Kalāh* on the route from China to India, and Chia-Tan's *Ko-ku-lo* 哥谷羅 to the west (presumably more accurately north-west or on the route to the West) of *Ko-lo* 哥羅 (page 57 above). This parallel is the more striking when we remember that the accent in *Kalāh* falls on the second syllable.[3] If then, *Qāqullah* lay to the north-west of *Kalāh*, it must be sought in the northern section of the isthmus or possibly in Burma. If Abū Dulaf was referring to the true cinnamon, and if it was obtained directly from the *Qāqullah* hinterland, then a strong claim might be advanced for a site on the Tenasserim coast.

3. PANHANG

(i) *Mas'ūdī.*

[In the *Sea of Kundrang*=South China Sea] there are many peoples, including those called *Fanjab*, who have wavy hair and strange figures. In their small boats they wander round any ships which visit them and they throw (shoot) a strange type of poisoned arrow.

Between these people and the land of *Kalāh* are mines of tin *(al-raṣāṣ)* and mountains of silver.[4] There are also mines of gold and lead *(al-raṣāṣ al-abyad)*[5] which are seldom exploited.

(ii) *Idrīsī.*

[Copies Mas'ūdī but gives the inhabitants black hair and adds that each wears a collar of iron, copper or gold].

Mas'ūdī's *Fanjab* [=Punjab] can only be a copyist's mislection of a well-known name for an unknown one. Tibbetts amends the Arabic to read *Fanhan (=Panghang* or *Panhang)* or, just possibly, *Fanfan (=Pangpang)*,[6] names comparable at least

[1] *JA*, onzième série, tome xiv (1919), p. 43, note 1.

[2] *MJTG*, vol. ix (1956) pp. 33–8.

[3] Mas'ūdī alone on one occasion accents the first syllable.

[4] Silver occurs in the Malay Peninsula only as an impurity in galena, the average amount being only 20–30 oz. to the ton. Eredia claimed there were silver mines in the southern parts of the Peninsula but his authority seems to have been none other than Pliny (Mills's edition, 'Description of Malacca', pp. 51–2).

[5] Lead, in the form of lead sulphide (galena), has been exported from the Langkawi Islands, the Taiping district and from Patani. It also occurs in workable quantities in the limestones between Pĕrlis and Sĕtul.

[6] *MJTG*, vol. ix (1956), pp. 38–9. Cp. Ferrand's *Fanjan* [=*Pangan*], derived indirectly by way of Schlegel's *Pang-hang* from the name of the Pangang, aboriginal tribes in the north of Pahang State (*Relations de voyages*, vol. i, p. 99, note 2).

with the later *P'eng-feng* 蓬豐 of Chao Ju-kua and the *P'eng-heng* and *P'eng-k'eng* 彭坑 of Ming times. Whatever the precise transliteration employed by the Arabs, the context gives little reason to doubt that they are referring to Pahang.

4. TIYŪMAH

(i) *'Akhbār aṣ-Ṣin wa'l-Hind.*

Then the ships travel to a place called *Betūmah* which has fresh water for anyone who desires it, and the distance to it is ten days [from *Kalāh*]. Then the ships set out for a place called *Kundrang* (=*Pāṇḍuraṅga*=Phanrang) which takes ten days. [This is also quoted by Ibn al-Fāqih.]

(ii) *Ibn Khurdādhbih.*

On leaving *Māīt* (p. 230 below) one finds to the left the island of *Tiyūmah*,[1] which produces aloeswood of the sort called *Hindi*, and camphor. From there one goes in five days to *Qmār* (Khmer). [The *Mukhtaṣar al-'ajā'ib* quotes this but says that *Tiyūmah* is on the coast.]

(iii) *Idrīsī.*

[Quotes Ibn Khurdādhbih and places *Tiyūmah* one day from *Māīṭ*.] One finds in *Tiyūmah* sandalwood and rice. The inhabitants wear a garment called *fūṭah* . . . [Here is more information which obviously pertains to the Khmers mentioned in the same paragraph. *Idrīsī* also mentions the island of *Sūmah*,[2] situated some two days from *Mūja*, four from *Māīd* and four from *al-Ayām (al-Anām)*. It has edible birds and coconuts and superior camphor. The king is called *Qāmrūn*.[3] There is much rain and wind, and it is surrounded by many small inhabited islands, some peopled by *Panhang* folk.]

Wide as are the divergences in the several transliterations of this place-name, in Arabic script the differences are small, depending on accuracy of pointing. From Ibn Khurdādhbih's version of the name and from the context of the passages, it is clear that we have here a reference to Pulau Tioman, an island, situated off the south-east coast of the Malay Peninsula, whose peak and 'asses ears' were points of landfall and departure for mariners of all nations sailing the South China Sea. The bay on the south-west of the island provided a sheltered roadstead with a gently sloping, sandy floor; the drinking water mentioned in the *'Akhbār aṣ-Ṣīn* was no doubt obtained a few dozen yards inland from the cascade which is purified by filtration through a bed of sand; timber is abundant even at the present day; and, in the words of eighteenth-century sailors, 'the island is very plentiful in refreshments'.[4]

[1] Other MSS. of this work read *Fyūmah* and *Qayūmah*.

[2] Other MSS. read *Shūmah*.

[3] Possibly Old Khmer *kuruṅ*=king. Cp. Chinese *K'un lun* 崑崙 (p. 17 above).

[4] *The oriental navigator*, p. 461.

5. ṢANFĪN

Ṣanfīn is mentioned three times in the *'Ajā'ib al-Hind*. Two of the references appear on pp. 218 and 224 above while the third occurs together with Andamān in a sailor's yarn. Thus *Ṣanfīn* is coupled with *Fanṣūr* (=Barus), *Lāmurī*, *Kalāh*, *Qāqullah* and *Andamān*. If the names in the second text are in order from south to north, then the passage implies that *Ṣanfīn* was situated to the north of *Kalāh* and *Qāqullah*. Ferrand[1] has propounded the plausible theory hat we may be here dealing with the place known to the Chinese as *Chan-pin* 占賓,[2] located between Coromandel and *Ku-lo* 古羅 (=? *Ko-lo=Kalāh)*. We have already seen that Buzurg's notice of cannibals conflicts with contemporary descriptions of *Kalāh* and *Qāqullah* and there is no reason to suppose it is any more applicable to *Ṣanfīn*.

6. MĀĪṬ

(i) *Ibn Khurdādhbih.*

The distance between *Jāba* (=Java) and *Māīṭ* is small. . . . On leaving *Māīṭ*, one finds to the left (i.e. north) of it the island of *Tiyūmah*.

(ii) *Buzurg.*

Among the marvels of the sea is a bird which one finds in the neighbourhood of *Māīṭ*, an island near *Ṣanf (Campā)* and *Sribuza*. This island produces gold, cotton and honey.

(iii) *Ibn Yūnus.*

In Eastern Asia Khwārizmī places a large island called *Maidh* or *Kūl*, of which the centre is 107° long. and 12° lat. It is watered by a river and contains three villages, of which one is at 107°. He puts it in the sea to the south and to the south-east of *Sirandīb* (Ceylon).

[Some MSS. also have *k.r.k.* for the second name. Ibn Sa'īd has *Mand* and *k.n.k.*]

(iv) *Idrīsī.*

After the island of *Jāba* is that of *Māīṭ;* it is a dependency of the king of *Jāba* and produces coconuts, bananas, sugar-cane and rice. To the left of the island of *Māīṭ* is *Tiyūmah*, and between this and *Māīṭ* is one day's journey [Ibn al-Wardī quotes this].

(v) *Ibn Sa'īd.*

[In an inextricably involved text *al-Māid* is located to the north of the larger island of *al-Mūja*, from which it is separated by a channel some half a degree in width. The inhabitants take honey and wax to China. Here ends the Indian Ocean, and the *Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ* (Encircling Ocean) begins at 164° long., 4°

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[1] *JA*, vol. xiv (1919), pp. 39 *et seq.*

[2] *Sung-shih*, chap. 489 and *Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao*, chap. 332, f. 2611.

lat. Travellers sometimes reach thus far, but then turn away in order to reach *al-Jawa* (Java). At the place where the two seas meet is the *River Khumdān*, the largest river in China . . . to the west is the town of *Qaṭīghūrā*.[1] Elsewhere Ibn Sa'īd mentions the Islands of *al-Mand*. . . .]²

Tibbetts ascribes much of the confusion in these texts to the attempts of the authors to read the maps of the period.[3] Such would certainly seem to be true of Ibn Sa'īd's chaotic geography, but the brief accounts of Ibn Khurdādhbih, Buzurg and Idrīsī, though vague, are not inherently unreasonable. Proximity to *Śrī Vijaya*, Java and Tioman would indicate a location at the southern end of the Malay Peninsula or among the archipelagoes to the southwards. In this connexion considerable interest attaches to Van der Lith[4] and Schlegel's[5] equation of *Māïṭ* with the *Ma-i-tung* 麻逸凍 of Fei-Hsin, which also produced cotton and sugar-cane. The latter crop has always been common on small-holdings throughout Malaya, Java, Sumatra and adjoining islands but attempts to introduce cotton to the Peninsula or Riau-Lingga have all failed (cp. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah's remarks, page 226 above). Today it is cultivated only in Java and South Sumatra. Native gold in quartz occurs in western Sumatra, and in small quantities in the northern parts of the same island, in Java and the southern and western districts of Borneo. In Johore it is known only from Kadanak, at the foot of Gunong Ledang. It also occurs in placers in most of the rivers of Malaya, Sumatra, southern Borneo and Java.

Meagre and unsatisfactory as these descriptions are, they do throw some light on the condition of the Peninsula towards the close of the first millenium A.D. Tibbetts claims that the Arabs were ignorant of the peninsular nature of Malaya,[6] but this I find difficult to accept. While it is true that the several place-names, with the exception of *Qāqullah*, are described as *jazīrah*, an Arabic word used indiscriminately for 'island' or 'peninsula', it seems incredible that for some two or three centuries sailors could coast

[1] The text reads *Qytghūra* for *Qtyghūra*, the *Kattigara* of Ptolemy (Renou, *La Géographie de Ptolémée*, p. 64).

[2] A French translation of these texts *in extenso* may be consulted in Ferrand, *Relations de voyages*, vol. ii, pp. 316–52.

[3] *MJTG*, vol. ix (1956), p. 42.

[4] *Merveilles de l'Inde*, pp. 253–5.

[5] *TP*, vol. ix (1898), pp. 365–83.

[6] *MJTG*, ix (1956), p. 43.

from *Kalāh* northwards to *Qāqullah* and *Ṣanfīn* and southwards to *Māīṭ* and *Pahang* without realizing the unity of the neighbouring landmass. In fact Mas'ūdī's testimony as to the mineral-bearing mountains separating Pahang from *Kalāh* is weighty evidence against this view.

What these accounts do indicate clearly is that the Arabs were intimately acquainted only with the north-western coasts of the Peninsula in the vicinity of *Kalāh*, *Qāqullah* and possibly *Ṣanfīn*. Here walled cities drew their wealth from the forest and mineral products of their hinterlands and acted as entrepôts for the merchandise of regions more remote. Tin was the foundation of the prosperity of *Kalāh*, but gold and silver are also attributed casually to the same district by Mas'ūdī. Aloeswood, camphor and cinnamon were the staple exports from the region as a whole, with other scented woods and the less valuable bamboos and rattans forming a not inconsiderable proportion of cargoes shipped westward.

From the lack of material furnished by our informants about the southern stretches of the Peninsula we may conclude that, apart from its role as a barrier, it played a negligible part in the trade of South-East Asia. *Māīṭ*, which may have been either at the southern tip of the Peninsula or among the archipelagoes to the south, is clearly a much more primitive political entity than either *Kalāh* or *Qāqullah*, while Pahang was peopled by aborigines. Because the Arabs left no record of the Peninsula to the south of *Kalāh* (with the possible exception of *Māīṭ)*, it has sometimes been argued that their route lay along the Sumatran shore. Their omission of descriptions of the Malayan coast would then be the result of ignorance.[1] Despite the dangers of arguments *ex silentio* I prefer to interpret this lack of information as reflecting an absence of civilized human settlement and opportunity for trade. Certainly the shoaling Sumatran shore with its bars and mangrove flats was unlikely to attract merchantmen and in this context we may recall that over four centuries later Sultan Iskandar Shah instanced the safe approaches to Malacca as an advantage enjoyed by his own port over the difficult shallows about Pasai.[2]

[1] See particularly Tibbetts, *MJTG*, vol. ix (1956), pp. 43–4.

[2] Reported by Tomé Pires (*Suma Oriental*, vol. ii, p. 273).

CHAPTER XV

THE MASTER NAVIGATORS: 1450-1550

It is evident that no sailor deriving his information from the encyclopedias and topographies discussed above would have made his landfall at any point in South-East Asia. Clearly there must have been in existence at the same time a body of practical seaman's knowledge relating to winds and currents and tides, to stars and courses, to shoals and reefs, capes and bays. Presumably in the earlier period this information was preserved and augmented by means of oral tradition. When it was first incorporated in sailing directories is unknown but possibly the original of the *'Akhbār aṣ-Ṣīn wa'l-Hind* was such a compilation. If so no comparable work earlier than the mid-fifteenth century has survived. Then we have in *MS. Arabe 2292* of the Bibliothèque Nationale a navigational tract entitled *Ḥāwīyat al-ikhtiṣār fī'ilm al-biḥār* by the *mu'allim*, or 'master navigator', Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Mājid. The tract is dated A.D. 1462. In the same library there are five other navigational tracts *(MS. 2559)* by a *mu'allim* Sulaimān b. Aḥmad al-Mahrī, of whom we know nothing save that he was dead when Sīdī 'Alī Selebī compiled the *Muḥīṭ* in 1553. One of these tracts is dated A.D. 1511, and two contain directions for mariners coasting the Malay Peninsula. The first of these, entitled *al-'Umdat al-mahrīyah fī ḍabṭ 'ilm al-baḥrīyah* (folios 11 verso–59 recto), contains less detail than the second, which is known as *Kitāb al-Minhāj al-fākhir fī'ilm al-baḥr al-zākhir* (folios 59 verso–93 recto). Although these two works were written half a century after Ibn Mājid's *Ḥāwīyat*, their greater length and significance justifies their being considered first.

1. SULAIMĀN B. AḤMAD AL-MAHRĪ

Malayan sections of the directories compiled by this pilot comprise three types of information. The simplest is that represented only on folios 67 recto–70 recto of the *Kitāb al-Minhāj*, namely lists of places having common latitudes. Second, large sections take the form of gazetteers recording place-names and their latitudes, together with the compass bearings one from another, the whole

interspersed with occasional descriptive phrases. In both types of text latitudes are recorded in terms of the altitude of the Pole Star *(al-Jāh, Polaris)* or of the Guardians of the Pole *(al-Farqadān, β, γ Ursae Minoris)* measured in *iṣba'*.[1] Nowhere are these latitudes accurate but they become considerably less so as one approaches the equator where the Pole Star is low in the heavens. The chart of Malayan waters which can be plotted from this information is considerably more accurate than contemporary European maps, and may be profitably compared with the *Wu-pei-chih* coastline (page 94 above). Finally, the third class of information consists of sailing directions for a particular voyage and is therefore analogous to the instructions inscribed on the Chinese chart.

N.B. It is of extreme importance to note that in the following extracts I have followed Tibbetts in denoting *iṣba'* by the degree symbol °. Pole Star is abbreviated as PS.

(i) [from] *al-'Umdat al-Mahrīyah fī Ḍabṭ al-'Ulūm al-Najmīyah (MS. 2559).*

folio 21 recto, line 13–folio 21 verso, line 11

Section on the sea-routes near the Siamese mainland. The journey from *Sundīb* (Sandwip in the Ganges delta) and *Fāradīb* (presumably a neighbouring island) to *Shāṭi-Jām* (Chittagong) is [made in the direction] ESE; from *Shāṭi-Jām* to the island of *Zanjilīyā*[2] is due south and from *Zanjilīyā* to *Nājirāshi* (Cape Negrais) SSE. From *Nājirāshi* to Marṭabān is ESE and from Marṭabān to *Tawāhi* (Tavoy) SSE; and from Marṭabān also to the island of *Fāli* (one of the Southern Moscos Islands), due south. From *Fāli* to the island of *Butom* (P. Butang) is due south and from *Butom* to the islands of *Pulau Sanbilan Malacca* (the Nine Islands off the Perak estuary), SSE. From Pulau Sanbīlan to the islands of *Pulau Jumar*[3] (it is due south and from Jumar)[4] to the mountain of *Pulau Bāsalār* (Bukit Jugra),[5] SE by E, although some say ESE. Then from *Pulau Bāsalār* to Malacca it is SE, and from Malacca to *Singapūr*, and this is the end of Siam to the South and there the Guardians *(β, γ Ursae Minoris)*[6] are 5° above the horizon. . . . But there are two opinions about this; one says it is ESE, and the other SE.

Section on the sea routes of China.[7] The journey from *Singapūra* to *Banagh*, [read as 'Pahang' by Tibbetts, *MJTG*, vol. ix, p. 54 but I prefer to be guided by the latitudes given here and on page 240 below. The Arabic could be read as

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[1] Lit. finger. For a discussion of various aspects of Arab navigational practice see the papers in Ferrand's *L'astronomie nautique arabe*. One *iṣba'* = approx. 1° 43′.

[2] *Zangilīyā*, a coral bank near Chittagong (Tibbetts, p. 54, note 5).

[3] Pulau Jemur, the largest of the Aroa Islands.

[4] The words in parenthesis are a marginal interpolation by a different hand.

[5] Formerly known as Bukit Parcelar or Pulau Parcelar.

[6] For the measurement of latitudes by the Little Bear see L. de Saussure in Ferrand, *L'astronomie nautique arabe*, pp. 129–75.

[7] *Al-Ṣīn wa Mā'l-Ṣīn*, derived from Skt. *Cīna Mahācīna*. Greater China included the eastern coast of the Malay Peninsula.

Batāni=Patani], where the Pole Star is 4° above the horizon is N by W. Then from *Banagh* to *Ṣūrā* (possibly a corrupted form of *Sanjurā*=Singora[1]) 4¼° PS, it is NNW. From *Ṣūrā* to the Gulf of *Kūl*[2] 4½° PS, it is NW by W.; and from *Ṣūrā* to *Shahr-i Naw*,[3] (Ayut'ia) 4½°, due north. Then from *Shahr-i Nawā* to *Cape Kanbūsā* (C. Cambodia), 5° PS, is SE by E [etc.].

folio 26 verso, line 9–folio 27 verso, line 6

Section on the islands in the sea off the Siamese coast, which are called *Tākwā*,[4] and are from 5°–2° PS. The first of them is the island of *Fāli*. This is a large island, the northern point of which is 5° PS, and the southern one, 4¾° PS. Next to the south, in line with it is *Fāli Kārā* (probably Gabosa or Tenasserim Island), the northern point of which is 4½° PS, and facing it in the east is the island of *Lāwamand* (probably Iron Island) and the estuary of *Markhī* (Mergui harbour). After it on the south is another island near by called *Awzārmanda* (probably King Island), having the appearance of a large sail. The Pole Star there is 4¼° [above the horizon]. Then, after these in line are four large islands called *Butom Bāshkalā* (possibly the Bailty-Sargent group), 4° PS, then an island called *Shayān* (Kisseraing Island),[5] 3¾° PS, then another large island called *Līnī*,[6] 3½° PS. Next comes another island called *Tanakūlam* (probably St. Matthew Is.) whose northern point is at 3¼° PS and whose southern one is at 3°. Then comes the island of *Pulau Lantā* (probably Chance Is.), an inhabited island with a permanent population. Fruits are found there and it is at 2¾° PS. Next is an island called *Pulau Kalārī* (probably Middle Is.), 2½° PS, facing which, but to the west of its northern point, are the islands known as *Pulau Sanbīlan Siam* (Sayer Islands), and after *Pulau Kalārī* is a small island called *Pulau Ayam* (possibly Perforated Is.) at 2¼° PS. Now the island of *Urang Sālah* (Ujong Salang, Junk Ceylon) is a large, long island to the east of these islands, its north cape being at 2¾° PS, facing *Pulau Lantā*, and between them are two *zam;* whereas the other cape on the south is at 2° PS facing the southernmost point of *Pulau Sanbīlan*, with four *zam* between them. Beyond *Urang Sālah*, when you travel SE you come to a large island called Pulau Penang at 1½° PS, and after this is another

Fig. 38. The Aroa Islands taken off deck at anchor in 15 fathom, about 1½ miles from the largest island. Redrawn from A Chart of the Straits of Malacca and Singapore *by Thomas Jefferys (London, 1794). For a note on Jefferys see caption to Fig. 17.*

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[1] But see Tibbetts, *MJTG*, vol. ix, p. 54, note 17.

[2] From the bearing Tibbetts (*MJTG*, vol. ix, p. 54, note 19) adduces the Ligor district, but Ferrand (*Relations de voyages*, tome ii, p. 500) amends *Kūl* to *Kwi*=*Cui* of early Portuguese maps=Samroi Yot.

[3] Persian for 'new town', that is Ayut'ia, founded 1350 (Cp. the Pāli form *Navapura*). This town appears as *Sarnau*, *Sarnaur*, *Sarnao* and *Xarnau* in Varthema (pp. 220, 236, 237, 254) and in divers forms on early European maps of South-East Asia: *Regno de Scierno*, *Scierne*, *Sciernoe* and *fl. Scierno* all on Fra Mauro's map of 1459; *Cerener* on Cantino (1502); *Cereaci* on Canerio (c. 1505); *Zerena* in Egerton MS. 2803 (c. 1510); *Sorna* on Diego Homem (1568); *Sornao* on Vaz Dourado (1571) and Bartolomeu Lasso (1590); *Sornam* on Langeren (in Linschoten 1596, and 1623) and *Sornau* on Ottens as late as 1740.

[4] *Tākwā* persists today in the names of the towns Takuapa and Takuatung. Takuapa is also the name of a coastal province.

[5] Called *Chai-an* by the Selungs (White, *The sea-gypsies of Malaya*, p. 57).

[6] Ferrand emends *Līnī* to *Lambī*=Pulau Lampi or Sullivan Is. (*Relations de voyages*, tome ii, p. 507).

island called Butang[1] at 1° PS. Now the routes used for the above mentioned islands, when you leave all of them on the left: from Martabān to the island of *Fāli*, go due south, and from *Fāli* to the end of the island of *Urang Sālah*, SSE, and from the end of this to the island of *Butang* at 1½° PS, and from the island of *Butang* to *Pulau Bāsalār* SSE, as has been said. Now from *Fāli* you do not again see the mainland until you have passed *Pulau Butang*. They say that there is near the islands of *Butom Bāshkalā*, in line with the islands which follow to the south, a strait at 3° PS between these islands and in line with the islands of *Butom*. The sea here is approximately 60–70 fathoms deep.

folio 56 recto, line 5–folio 56 verso, line 6

[from] *The voyage from Diu to Malacca. . . .* When you have passed *Sarjal* (Great Nicobar[2]) continue in the direction E by S, until you discover land, and when you sight it turn parallel to it until you come to the islands of *Pulau Sanbīlan*, that is the Nine Islands; and from *Pulau Sanbīlan* go due south. Now you should notice some way to the right in the west, some islands; but continue on your way due south until you reach the islands of *Pulau Jumar* (one of the Aroa Is.). When you see them around you, turn ESE. It will be quite deep there —ten and eleven fathoms; then there is no need to fear; then twelve until the depth increases and you have plenty of water. Then you have come out from *Qafāṣī*.[3] Now turn parallel to the mainland until you see the mountain of *Pulau*

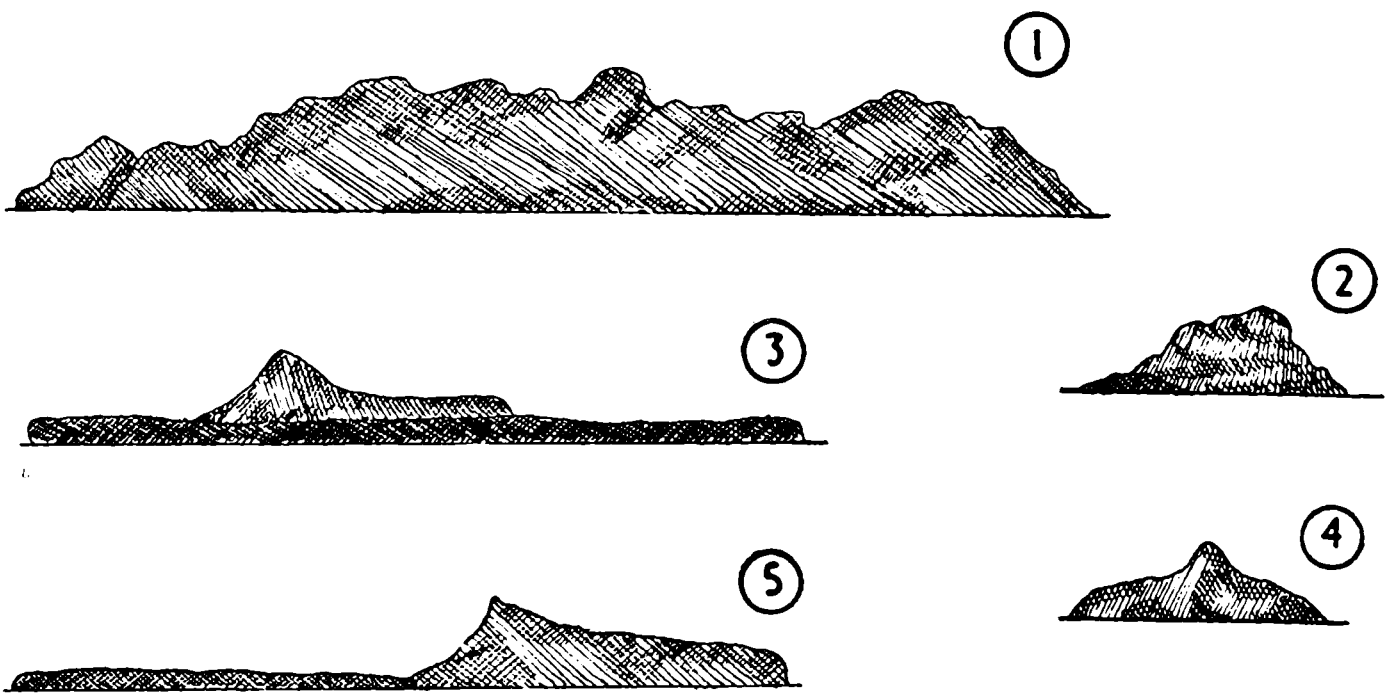

Fig. 39. Parcelar Hill (Bukit Jugra). (1) A fair sight. (2) ¼SE. 12 leagues. (3) In 23 fathom. (4) 10 leagues. (5) E½S. Redrawn from A chart of the Straits of Malacca and Singapore *by Thomas Jefferys (London, 1794). For a note on Jefferys see caption to Fig. 17.*

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[1] Tibbetts (*MJTG*, vol. ix, p. 56, note 37) points out that the text has transposed the names Penang and Butang but left the latitudes unaltered.

[2] See Tibbetts, *MJTG*, vol. ix, p. 56, note 39.

[3] The North and South Sands. Cp. *Capacia* in Albuquerque (Hakluyt Society edition, vol. i, p. 84) and the several versions on sixteenth-century maps: *baixos de capaçia* on Francisco Rodrigues (c. 1513), *bassi di capasa* on Vesconte de Maiollo (1527). The following maps, although locating the name in Sumatra, are clearly referring to the same shoals: *baxos de capacia* on the anonymous Weimar map (1527) and Diogo Ribeiro (1529); *baxo? de capaci?* on the anonymous Salviati map (1527); *baxos de capacia* on Alonso de Santa Cruz (1540); *basses de capacias,—capacian* and—*capaciar* on Pierre Desceliers of 1546, 1550, and 1553 respectively; *capaçia* on Gastaldi of 1546 and 1548, but *capasiasar* on his map of 1561; *Capacia* on Paulo Forlani (1565); *Capasiarar* on de Jode (1578) (*NB*. This list is by no means complete).

Bāsalār in the NE. Then sound the water and take 24 fathoms, taking care here of a bank connected to the mainland. Go ahead in 24 fathoms until you see Mount *Pulau Bāsalār* to the NNE, and this time nearer to the land; then follow the mainland to Malacca.

The Cōḷas follow the route due south from Pulau *Sanbīlan* for two zam and then turn S by E. Then he who follows this route takes the middle course between the bank of the island of *Qafāṣī*, called Pulau *Hansa* (Pulau Angsa off the coast of Selangor) and the island of *Jumar*. When you see them together, the island of *Qafāṣī* to the left and the island of *Jumar* in the distance to the right, then you turn SE by S. There the depth is 8 or 9 fathoms, until it increases and there is plenty of sea. Then he has come out from *Qafāṣī*. Then turn to the land as before.

folio 57 verso, line 6–line 12

The voyage from Malacca to Aden. When you leave Malacca you follow the land to Mount *Pulau Bāsalār*, and beware of the bank mentioned before. When you see Mount *Pulau Bāsalār* in the direction E by S you turn NW by W until you see *Pulau Jumar* a short distance off. When you have left it behind you, turn due north until you sight the islands of *Pulau Sanbīlan*, and when you come to these you turn for a little NNW to *Pulau Batagh* (for Penang), and from there you travel W by N to the islands of *Nāja Bārā* (Nicobars).

(ii) [from] *Kitāb al-Minhāj al-Fākhir fi'ilm al-Baḥr al-Zākhir (MS. 2559)*

folio 62 verso, line 12–folio 63 recto, line 11

Section on the sea routes around Bengal, Siam and Malacca. [This is roughly the same as the section on f. 21 (p. 234 above) but latitudes are given and the spellings of the names differ. *Fāradīb* becomes *Fāraḍibū* (and *Sundīb*, *Sundibū*) at 11° PS, *Zanjiliyā* is 10½° PS, *Najirāshī* become *Bahṛāsī* at 7° PS; Martabān, 6°; *Tāwahī* is *Khōr* (=estuary) *Tāwahī*, 5°; *Fālī*, 5°; *Butom Bāshkalā*, 4°. Two opinions are given of the direction from *Fālī* to *Butom Bāshkalā*, one SSE and the other due south. From *Butom Bāshkalā* to *Pulau Bāsalār*, 6½° of the Guardians, the direction is SSE, and from *Pulau Bāsalār* to *Singapūr*, 5° of the Guardians, SE.] *Section on the sea routes of Banagh (Pahang)* and *China.*[1] The route from *Singapūr* to *Banagh* at 4° PS is N by W, and from *Banagh* to *Ṣūrā* at 4½° PS, NNW. From *Ṣūrā* to the *Gulf of Kūl*, 4½° PS is NW by W, and from *Ṣūrā* to *Shahr-i-Naw*, 5° PS, SE by E [etc.].

folio 77 recto, line 15–folio 78 recto, line 10

Section on the islands of Tākwā,[2] which are off the Siamese coast. They are large islands, the first of them being at 5° PS. This is the island of *Fālī*, or *Falī;* then, after that to the south, that is, in line across the sea from the well known islands, is *Fālī Kabar (Falī Kārā?)*[3] at 4½° PS. Next to the south are the islands of *Butom Bāshkalā* at 4° and after them to the south is the island of *Shayān*, at 3¾°. Next to the south is the island of *Kayni*[4] at 3½°, which is a large island; and after that is the island of *Batakūlam* (for *Tanakūlam* of f. 26) at 3°. Next is the small inhabited island called *Pulau Lanta* at 2¾°. Then the following islands one after the other to the south; *Pulau Kahādī* (*Pulau Kalārī* of f. 26), 2½°; *Pulau Ayam*, 2¼°; many islands, 2°; and to the west of them the islands of *Pulau*

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[1] *Māh wa'-l-Ṣīn*, another corruption of Skt. *Mahācīna*. See p. 234 above, note 7.

[2] The text has *Bākwā* throughout. Emended by Tibbetts, *MJTG*, vol. ix, p. 56, note 46.

[3] Cp. p. 235.

[4] For *Līnī* [=Sullivan Is.]; cf. f. 26.

Sanbīlan Siam. Then after them islands and more islands until you come to the island of *Pulau Butang*. This is a large island at 1½° PS, and it is the last of the islands of *Tākwā* to the south. Now after them are the islands which you follow when you are close to the mainland—large islands such as the island of *Lakāwī* (Langkawi Is.) which are near the mainland, off *Pulau Butang*. After Penang in the south are two large, long islands called Dingding, and after these you reach the islands of *Pulau Sanbīlan Malacca* and the island of *Bankūr Lau* (Pangkor Laut), facing Dingding. The islands of *Pulau Sanbīlan* are at the northern head of a bay, just as those of *Pulau Bāsalār* are at the southern head of the same bay. The islands of *Tākwā* are beyond number, in three rows, and they are free from all danger, except that there are *ma'lafāt* among them in certain places. As for the route through them, if you leave all of them on the left, the route from Martabān to the island of *Fālī* is due south; then from *Fālī* all of it is SSE to *Pulau Bāsalār*, according to the judgment of the navigator; provided that you also keep south from *Fālī* to *Butom*, then this is obvious.

folio 88 verso, line 6–folio 90 verso, line 1

from *The voyage from Diu to Malacca* . . . and when you have passed it [*Sarjal*], take the direction ESE for four *zam*, then take SE by E until the Guardians appear at 8°; then turn due east. Then your mind should be on the current. You will make your first landfall on the island of *Pulau Perak*. This is a small island, the distance between it and the mainland being 8 *zam*. Then from *Perak* you should continue due east and you will reach the island of Pulau Penang, if the current [i.e. tide[1]] is not running north. And if you see the current, then turn from here ESE and you will come to Penang, which is a long island, both sides of which are identical and appear black from a short distance. When you have come near to it, steer SSE to the island of *Pulau Sanbīlan*, which means the Nine Islands. Now there will appear to you what seem to be two mountains on the mainland, resembling Pulau Penang, and you will think them two islands, and they are between Pulau Penang and Dingding. These mountains are called *Fān Kūrā* (False Dindings, the two peaks of Bukit Sĕgari) and after these two mountains you will come to Dingding, which are two large, long, barren islands. Facing them is the island of *Tankūr Lau* (for *Bankūr Lau* of f. 77), and this is a small, round island. Now Pulau Penang and Dingding are both near the mainland in shallow water.

Then after Dingding come the islands of *Sanbīlan*, islands with tall mountains, but their areas are small. When you come to them, you can take up water and continue the journey. Then set course from them due south for 6 *zam* and you will come to the island of *Pulau Jumar*. Between *Sanbīlan* and *Jumar* the depth is 35 fathoms until you approach *Jumar;* then the water increases, and the depth increases to 40 or 50 fathoms more or less. When you are near *Jumar* you can neither see the mainland of the Peninsula nor that of Sumatra. But in clear weather you can see the mountains of the Siamese mainland,[2] that is the 'tin mountains'[3]. When you approach *Jumar* turn SE by E for a *zam*, then take ESE. Now, due SE from the island of *Jumar* there is a bank, over which the waves break, but you continue on your way ESE, the depth decreasing until it reaches 18 fathoms or thereabouts. Continuing ESE, when *Jumar* appears level with the surface of the sea, then you should see directly in front the mountain of *Pulau Bāsalār*. Still continue ESE and the depth will be about 16 or 17 fathoms. If it decreases to 15, incline to the right, but if it increases to 18 then incline to the left; you should make this a habit. Now beware of the tide; whenever it is with you and the wind is boisterous, then let down the anchor lest the current carry

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[1] *al-madd*, which usually means the ebb-tide.

[2] *Jibāl mul al-Siyām*. For *al-mul*=mainland see Ferrand, *JA*, tome cciv (1924), pp. 222–30.

[3] *Jibāl al-qal'i*.

A

GUNONG BUBU

FALSE DINDING

PULAU PANGKOR

B

PARCELAR HILL

100°

4°

PULAU JARAK

FALSE DINDING

PULAU PANGKOR

SEMBILAN ISLANDS

10 Fathoms

5 Fathoms

Jībā/

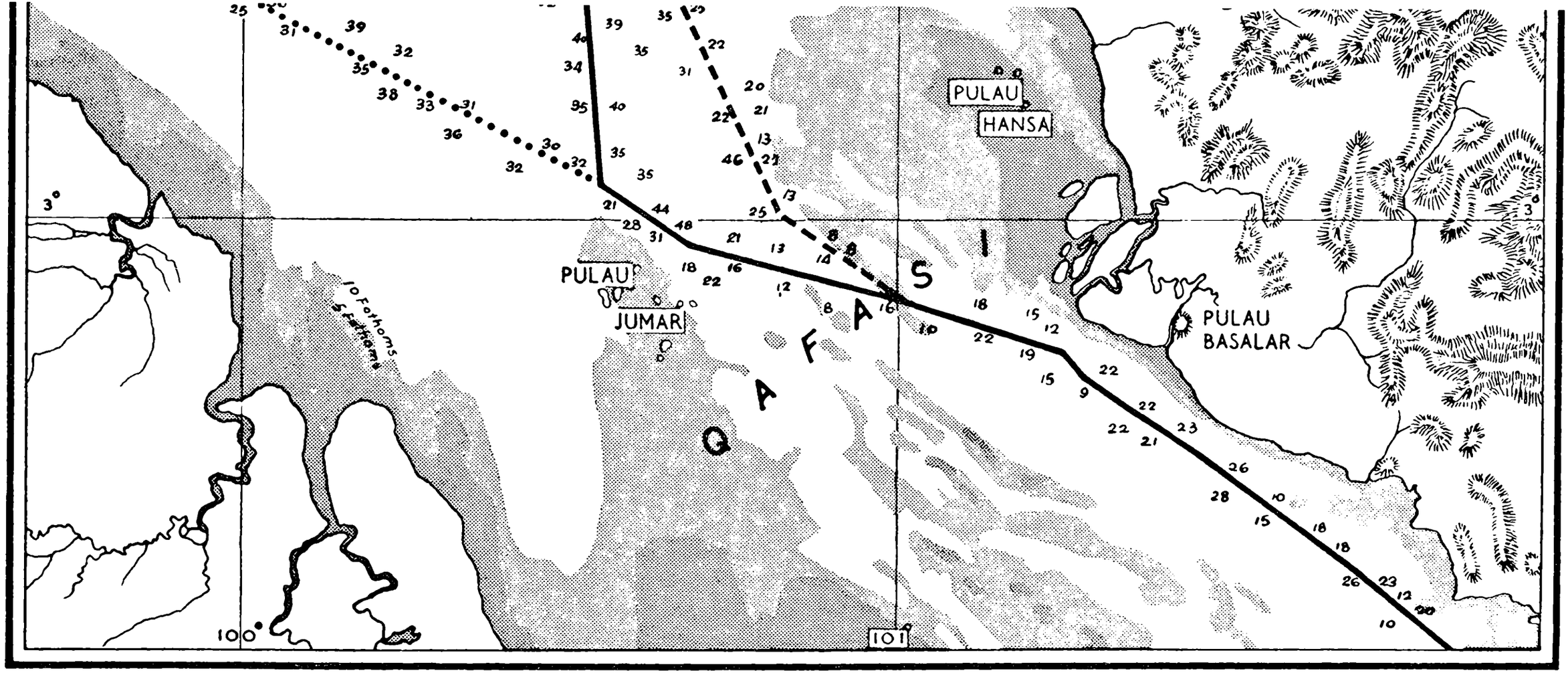

Fig. 40. The passage through the North and South Sands (Chinese, Cotton Shoals: Arab, Qafāṣī) as used by Arab (full line), Chinese (dotted line) and Indian mariners (pecked line) in the fifteenth century. Insets. A: False Dinding and Pulau Pangkor from about 28 miles south-westward. Redrawn from Malacca Strait Pilot, *facing p. 138. The modern soundings should be compared with those of the Arabs as recorded in the text. B. Parcelar Hill (Bukit Jugra), N½E. Redrawn from* A chart of the Straits of Malacca and Singapore *by Thomas Jefferys (London, 1794). Figures indicate fathoms.*

(facing page 238)

you into shallow water. When you are near *Pulau Bāsalār*, the mainland which is to the south of it will be visible. Then examine the shallows until there is 8 fathoms, then 7, then 6, and when the depth remains at 9 fathoms or about that, this is the bank of *Qafāṣī* which is reefs. When you are on this route continue in the same direction which you have followed since *Jumar;* keeping the boat before you. Keep taking the depth, I mean, when you are in this shallow place with the depth at about 7 or 8 fathoms. You should continue on the above mentioned course, and after these shallows the depth will increase to 15 and 20 and 25.

Now you have escaped, so turn about this time to the land and take a course close to the mainland to the SE. The depth will be about 25 fathoms and in an hour 30 fathoms, then 25, and in another hour 20 fathoms, increasing and decreasing at every sounding by about 5 or 6 fathoms. Notice that the sea-bottom rises and falls. Keep on this course and when the tide turns back upon you and the wind is rough, then drop anchor. So continue until you come to Malacca. In front of it you will see the islands of *Pulau Sanba* (?)[1] and the island of *Ubi* (?)[2]. Boats will then come out to you. Prepare to enter the harbour.

The journey from Malacca to al-Dīb[3] [*The Maldives*]. When you leave the harbour ride straight out to sea until the depth is 20 or 25 fathoms, for this is best and most possible (?). Then take the direction NW and the depth 25 fathoms or thereabouts until you see *Pulau Bāsalār* in the NNE. Then take WNW and the depth will be between 35 and 20 fathoms. Continue thus until the depth decreases to 15 and then to 7 or 8. You will now find yourself over the above mentioned bank. Continue straight ahead in the same direction until the depth increases again to about 15, and then go on till you sight *Pulau Jumar* when the depth will be about 30–40 fathoms. Now is the time to turn due north until you come to the island of *Pulau Sanbilan*, and from *Pulau Sanbilan* take the direction NNW until Pulau Penang appears. Now take WMW until you reach *Pulau Perak*, and from *Perak* take W by N for a while, and then due west until the mountains of Sumatra appear [etc.].

folio 91 verso, line 7–folio 92 recto, line 10

[from] *The voyage from Martabān and Tenasserim*[4] . . . and after you have passed the island [Car Nicobar], if you wish to go to Martabān, turn NE by E, and then you will come to the island of *Fālī*. Take care of the tide, if you are to the north, whenever you reach *Fālī* or above it. When you come to 5° PS or 5½° and you have not sighted a thing, then turn due east to reach the mainland. Come near to it and turn along it till you come to Marṭabān.

But if you wish to go to Tenasserim, take ENE from the Nicobars, and you will come to the island of *Fālī* [*Kārā*].[5] Then turn from it to ESE to the estuary of *Markhī* (Mergui). But if you come to the islands of *Butom Bāshkalā*, turn due east to the estuary of *Malakī* (for Maklay = Neclay River, the south entrance to the Tenasserim River). You will find innumerable islands between you and the estuary and they are surrounded by unhealthy places. It is the same from the island of *Fālī* to the *Markhī* estuary, but these are larger.

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[1] Unpointed. Ibn Mājid (*MS 2292*, f. 104 verso) uses the form *Sabta*, identified by Ferrand (*JA*, tome xiv, 1919, p. 54, note 1) as Pulau Sapata.

[2] Unpointed. Tibbetts (*MJTG*, vol. xiv, p. 56, note 60) suggests Pulau Upeh.

[3] From Skt. *dvīpa*.

[4] Despite the title this section describes a voyage from Ceylon to Martaban and Tenasserim.

[5] The context leaves no doubt that *Fālī Kārā* is meant here, and not the *Fālī* mentioned in the preceding paragraph as being on the route from the Nicobars to Martaban.

As for Martabān, whenever the islands of *Fāli* become visible, or [some land (?)] above them, draw near to the mainland and turn along it, and the depth will be about 12 fathoms. Here on the mainland is the strongest current it is possible to have. This is best [?].

Remark. Tenesserim has two harbours. One of them is *Malaki*, which is 4° PS and the other, *Markhi*, which is 4½° PS. The immediate vicinity of Tenasserim is on the mainland. Thus is Pegu [i.e. it also has two harbours]. One of its harbours is Marṭabān and the other is *Kasma*,[1] which is in *Nājirāshi* (Negrais). It is a large estuary whose most southerly point is Negrais. The vicinity of Pegu is on the mainland, like Tenasserim. From Tenasserim is an estuary which never has rain, being always dry and the people of Tenasserim travel in it to *Shahr-i Ṇaw*. So do the Arabs travel to *Shahr-i Naw*.

folio 67 recto, line 9–folio 71 recto, line 6

This section deals with place-names in order of latitude from the north towards the equator. The following places on the Malay Peninsula are mentioned.

6° PS, Marṭabān; 5¾°, *Kāradiyū* (Kaleyauk Is.); 5½°, *Khor Balang* (Ye River); 5¼°, the island of *Muk* (Northern or Middle Moscos Is.); 5°, *Cape Kanbūsā* in China, the estuary (Khōr) of *Tawāhi*, the island of *Fāli;* 4¾°, the island of *Nili* (Tavoy Is.[2]); 4½°, the estuary of *Markhi*, the island of *Lāwamand;* 4¼°, *Awzārmanda;* 4°, *Banagh* of China, the estuary of *Malaki*, which is Tenasserim, the islands of *Butom Bāshkalā;* 3¾°, the island of *Shayān* of the islands of *Tākwā;* 3½°, *Pulau Lanbi;* 3¼°, *Kōchek Lanbi* (probably James Is.[3]); 3° *Singūr* (Singora), the port of *Qrā*[4]*;* 2¾°, *Pulau Lantā;* 2½°, the island of *Kalāri;* 2¼°, *Pulau Ayam;* 2°, *Langa Shukā (Langkasuka*[5]*)*, of the extreme limits of China, the port of Trang;[6] the islands of *Pulau Sanbilan Siam;* 1¾°, the islands of Southern *Lantā*[7] (Lantur Islands); 1½°, the island of Butang; 1°, *Lakāwi;* 8° of the Guardians (Little Bear) which is 1° PS, *Kalāndan* [Kĕlantan] of China, *Kēdā*, the *Island of Perak;* 7¾°, Kra,[8] together with the island of Penang; 7½°, the islands of Dingding with the island of *Bankur Lau;* 7¼°, *Pulau Sanbilan Malacca;* 7°, Klang;[9] 6¾°, the *Bay of Faqāsi*, the *Island of Jumar;* 6½°, *Pulau Bāsalār;* 6¼°, *Sina Ūsang*[10] (Sungei Ujong); 6°, Malacca; 5¾°, the island of Karīmun; 5½°, *Lākanji* (unidentified); 5¼°,[11] *Kālang* (Pulau Galang in the Riau Archipelago); 5°, *Singapūrā*, and this is the end of Siam to the southward.

2. SHIHĀB AL-DĪN AḤMAD IBN MĀJID

The relevant part of Ibn Mājid's text takes the form of sailing directions for voyages round the Malayan coast. Not only are his

[1] *Ksmy*, i.e., the *Cosmin* of early European maps, located in the vicinity of Bassein (Tibbetts, *MJTG*, vol. ix, 1956, p. 56, note 65).

[2] Also known as Mali or Meli.

[3] *Kōshek*=Persian for 'little'; hence Little Lambi.

[4] *Bandar Qrā.*

[5] See Chap. XVI below.

[6] *Bandar Tranj.*

[7] *Juzur Janūb Lantā.*

[8] Pulau Kra off the coast of Province Wellesley.

[9] Text reads *Kali'*.

[10] The last word is unpointed but is almost certainly meant to be *Usang.*

[11] The text has *Singapūr* inserted in the same handwriting and ink between 5 and the ¼, no doubt a belated attempt by the copyist to arrange these places in geographical order.

94° 96° 98° 100° 102° 104° 106°

18° 16° 14° 12° 10°

P Ē G F

Pēgū

Kosma

Martabān

Ras Nājirāshī

Kāradiyū

Khōr Balang

Muk

Tawāhī

Fālī

Pulau Tawahī

Fālī Karā

Markhī

Butom Bāshkalā

Tanaṣārī

Kūl? (Kuwi)

Shahr-i Now

Pulau Lanbī

Orā

Lantā

ABOVE 5,000 FEET

500 - 5,000 FEET

100 50 0 50 100 150

MILES

N

I

S.

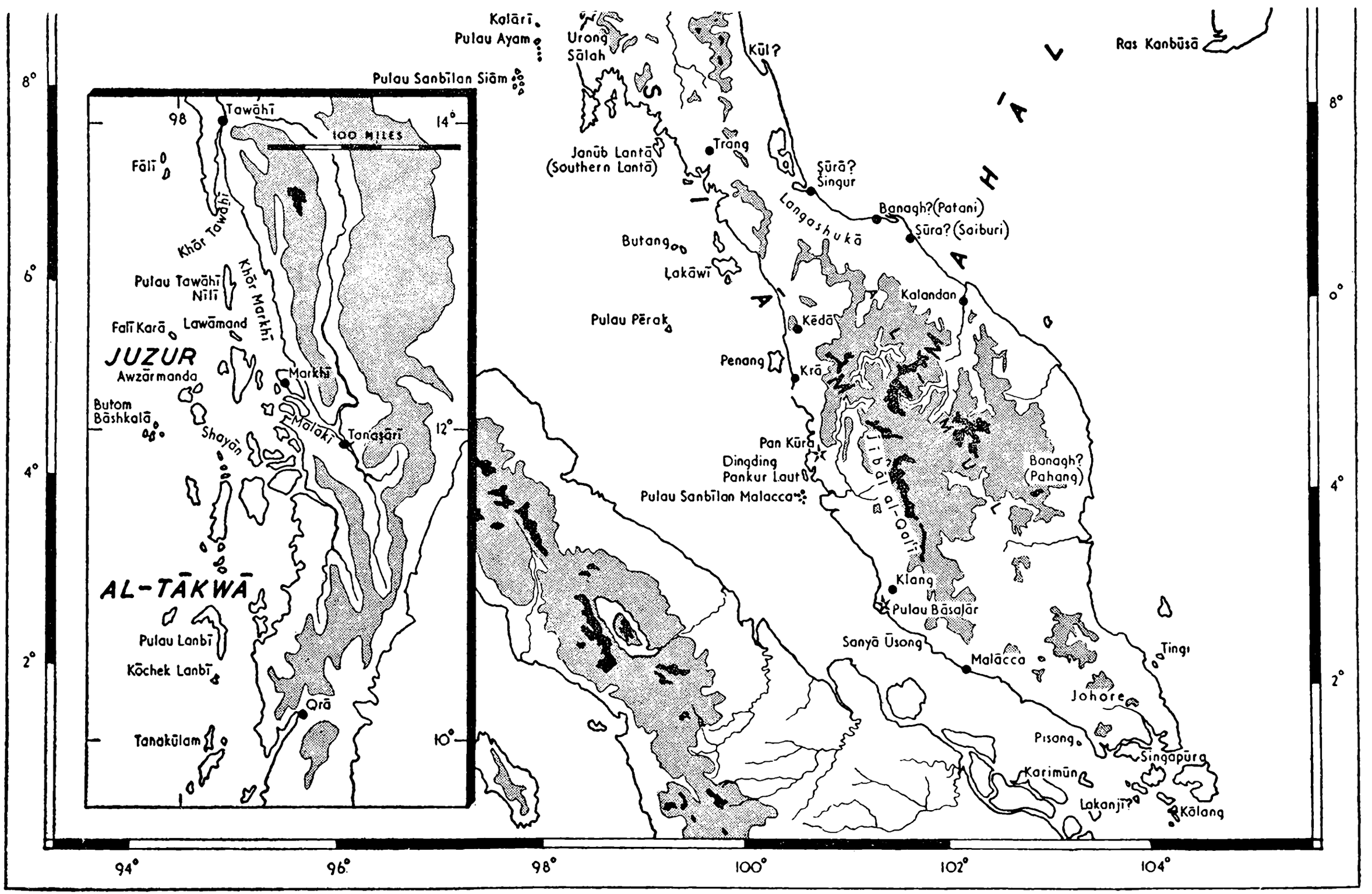

Fig. 41. The Malay Peninsula as known to the Arab pilots of the fifteenth century (Modified from Tibbetts, MJTG, *vol. 9, p. 51). Based on the sailing directories of Ibn Mājid and Sulaimān al-Mahri.* *(facing page 240)*

instructions less detailed than those of Sulaimān al-Mahrī but they are couched in doggerel in the *rajaz* metre so that they may the more easily be committed to memory. It will be noticed that in Tibbetts's translation[1] reproduced below the grammatical solecisms and inconsequences of the Arabic are left intact. For identifications of place-names reference should be made to the notes to Sulaimān al-Mahrī's text above, or better, to the elaborate annotations accompanying Tibbetts's paper.[2]

[from] *Ḥāwīyat al-Ikhtiṣār fī'ilm al-Biḥār (MS. 2292) folio 103 recto, line 3–folio 103 verso, line 15*

The best known opinion from Negrais to *Buttom* is to follow the Scorpion,[3]
O Traveller.
From Cape Negrais to the island of *Fālī* is to aim south-eastwards,[4] said al-Sūmālī
(unidentified).
From Cape Negrais to Marṭabān, by the Dog-star's rising (ESE), O Captain;
Now Cape Marṭabān juts outwards, be informed, the whole, this side of Siam;
Between them is a bay of little water. Beware lest you steer towards Orion[5]
If you desire not Pegu and *Cosmin*,[6] leave not the passage set by the Dog-star
To Marṭabān and then to *Bataqālah* (probably Sulaimān's *Bāshkalā*), your
course be true south with no change
And from *Pulau Tawāhī* (unidentified) to *Buttom* set a safe course by the rising
of Canopus[7] (SSE),
Also for *Tākwā*, O Captain, which are numerous islands but not alike
And he who would make *Tākwā* from *Buttom* and sets course on its rising,[8]
will profit
By my observations. Understood the courses set by the rising of Canopus and
doubt not.
And for the best opinion take my word; from *Buttom* is due south to *Tākwā* Strait
And if you, O Reader, would leave the islands of *Pulau Sanbīlan*,[9]
Navigate by the rising of the Scorpion's heart (SE) to *Qafāṣī*, and you will come
to grief.
For from *Dang Dang* (for Dingding) and *Pulau Sanbīlan*, between which is an
iṣba', then deviate not.
And as for the route to Johore, this fortress, and to Pulau Bĕrhala, know it is by
Canopus.

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[1] *MJTG*, vol. ix (1956), pp. 58-9.

[2] Ferrand's *Relations de voyages*, vol. ii, pp. 484-541 may also be consulted with profit.

[3] *Akrab (Antares)* in the constellation of the Scorpion.

[4] The rising of *Akrab* was used as the SE point of the compass.

[5] Rigel, *ß Orionis*, that is, E by S.

[6] The text reads *Kashmir*, clearly a mislection for *Cosmin*. Cp. Sulaimān al-Mahrī's *Kasma*.

[7] *Suhail*.

[8] The constellation being omitted, presumably Canopus is implied; that is, continue in the same direction.

[9] *Pulau Sanbīlan Malacca* (not *Pulau Sanbīlan Siam*).

As for Sumatra, O My Brother, when you have sailed from *Tākwā* by the Southern Cross,[1] you will approach it.
And another said, the most obvious path to Sumatra, our pole should be that of Canopus (due S).
And if you should desire from Sumatra to aim for China, when you travel,
Set course by the 'Crown'[2] (SE by E) rejoicing to Bĕrhala also with Johore;
And if you would leave these behind set the compass on the small Dog-star (unidentified) and be not slow
To *Mal'aqa*. Listen to my positions, and the water will be ten fathoms.
He will come before Malacca, and perceive *Fal Fāsalār* (Sulaimān's *Pulau Bāsalār*) with *al-Qafāṣ*, and know
Fal Fāsalār is a mountain and *Qafāṣī*, it is an abundance of shallows in the water.
Where are gaps, O My Brother, when you see *Fal Fāsalār* with *Simāk* (Arcturus, i.e. ENE) then give thanks
And if you desire the land of Malacca, then rely upon the small star of the Dog
Till near *Singapūr* and travel from there towards *Taik*[3] by the Great Bear [rising NNE; setting NNW],
Then steer from *Tingi* in the direction of *Ṣūrā* by the setting of the famous seven.[4]
Due north from *Ṣūrā* to *Shahr-i Naw*, to the right or the left is no use.
From *Shahr-i Naw* to *Kanbūsa* by the Scorpion is your route, by its rising, not setting.
From there steer to *Shanpa' (Campā)* by the rising of the Great Bear.

folio 104 verso, lines 3–8

From Malacca, if you travel towards Java, understand these directions:
Set course by the Scorpion and go safely until you have left *Sapata* Island.
After this by the 'Crown', to near the end of the path (i.e. the extremity of the Malay Peninsula).
Then you see before you in the route [Pulau] Pisang, with the strait of Karīmun, these are islands.
Then go and do not cease to sound when coming to this island.
There are six fathoms at *Salat Zanji* (unidentified) . . .

In addition Ibn Mājid's work also includes a prose section dealing with the places situated on successive latitudes. The following place-names on the Malay Peninsula are mentioned:

folio 110 verso, line 11–folio 111 recto, line 8

At 5° PS, *Fāli* and *Shahr-i Naw;* 4° PS, Tenasserim; 3° PS, *Tākwā;* 1° PS, *Talang* (Penang or Butang), *Dang Dang* (Dingding); 6° of the Little Bear, Malacca, Bĕrhala and *Singapūr*).

The passages quoted above make it clear that the Arab pilots were better acquainted with the west coast of the Malay Peninsula than with its eastern seaboard. The interior was unknown apart from a vague belief in the existence of 'tin mountains'. It is noticeable, too, that the majority of place-names on the west coast are those of natural features such as capes, islands and estuaries, that

[1] *Sullabar*, S by E or S by W. The identification with the Southern Cross is not without uncertainty.

[2] *Iklīl* in the constellation of the Scorpion.

[3] Can only be an error for Pulau Tinggi.

[4] The seven stars of the Great Bear.

is, landmarks for seamen. Settlements are comparatively few and several that might have been expected to appear, such as Muar, Sĕlangor, Bĕrnam, Bruas and Perak, are omitted.

Sulaimān al-Mahrī's sailing directions inevitably invite comparison with those of the *Wu-pei-chih* (page 101 above), though it must be remembered that the latter incorporates a chart which provides a large number of additional place-names. In the South China Sea the course recommended in the Chinese directions fetched directly from Pulau Aur to Pulau Condor. Arabs were certainly sailing this ocean route during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries but the only instructions included by Sulaimān al-Mahrī relate to a coastal voyage from Singapore to Ayut'ia. In the Malacca Strait Arab and Chinese sailing practice was similar, particularly in the negotiation of the dangerous shoals (Chinese=Cotton shoals; Arabic=*Qafāṣī*) off the Sĕlangor coast, for which both used Pulau Jĕmur and Bukit Jugra as landmarks. From the Aroas the Arab pilots set course SE by E (the 120° of the Chinese) for about three hours, and then altered to ESE (the 110° of the Chinese). As Jĕmur sank below the horizon, so Parcelar Hill (Jugra) rose dead ahead and, steering for this, the pilot worked his way through the shoals with the aid of the lead. Comparison of the soundings recorded by Sulaimān al-Mahrī with those from current Admiralty charts illustrates the detailed knowledge of these waters possessed by the Arab pilots, and it is to be regretted that they have left us no comparable directions for the passage round Singapore. Indian shipping at this period apparently followed a course more or less parallel to the coast and entered the channel by means of cross bearings on Jĕmur and Pulau Angsa.

North of the Aroa Islands the Chinese and Arab routes diverged. The former turned westwards to the Sumatran coast by way of the Brothers and Pulau Bĕrhala, while the Arabs coasted northwards to Penang before setting course for the Nicobars *(Nāja Bāra)*. A second route fetched to the Mergui Archipelago *(Juzur al-Tākwā,)* a seaway familiar to the Arabs since the ninth century,[1] so that the intricacies of its navigation were well known. On the inner side of the island barrier was Mergui *(Markhī)*, whence a trans-peninsular route led up the Tenasserim River to the east coast and so to Ayut'ia.

[1] p. 224 above.

APPENDIX

NOTES ON THE MORE IMPORTANT ARABIC TEXTS MENTIONED ABOVE

(1) *A.D. 851. 'Akhbār aṣ-Ṣīn wa'l-Hind (Tales of China and India)*

It is a curious coincidence that the first Arab work on India and adjacent lands to be translated into a European tongue was also the earliest extant Arab account of the East. The MS. in question (now *No. 2281*, folios 2 recto–23 verso in the Bibliothèque Nationale) was originally acquired in Aleppo for the library of Colbert, in which collection it was found and published in annotated translation by the Abbé Renaudot in 1718 under the title *Anciennes relations des Indes et de la Chine, de deux voyageurs mahométans qui y allèrent dans le neuvième siècle* (Paris). Subsequently the MS. passed into the possession of the Comte de Seignelay and was eventually incorporated in the Bibliothèque Royale (now the Bibliothèque Nationale), where in 1764 it was rediscovered by Deguignes who used it in the writing of several papers: *Journal des savants* (1764); *Notices et extraits des mss. de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, tome i (Paris, 1787), pp. 156–64; *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tome xxxvii; *Journal asiatique*, 4e série, tome viii, p. 161; and *Asiatic Journal*, vol. xxiii, p. 234. In 1811 Langlès printed the text, which was later published, together with a scholarly translation and notes by Reinaud: *Relations des voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde et à la Chine dans le IX^e^ siècle de l'ère chrétienne*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1845). This remained the standard edition for three-quarters of a century and was a quarry worked by such later authors as H. M. Elliot (*The history of India as told by its own historians*, London, 1867), Sir Henry Yule (*Cathay and the way thither*, 4 vols., 1915–6) and Gabriel Ferrand (*Relations de voyages*, vol. i, pp. 35–46 and 82–88). In 1922, however, Ferrand published a new French translation which, although much superior to its predecessors, incorporated in the words of one reviewer, 'quelques erreurs géographiques graves'. Ferrand has also been criticized for his restoration of the original form of many place-names, but possibly his greatest sin was the propagation of the belief, based on the misinterpretation of a single passage (§ 12), that the text was the work of a certain merchant Sulaimān. This idea, it is true, did not originate with Ferrand—it was, in fact,

first enunciated by Reinaud—but Ferrand's translation gave it wide currency among historians of South-East Asia. We find it, for example, in the works of those doyens among historical geographers, Coedès,[1] Braddell[2] and Fujita Toyohachi[3] so that, despite the scepticism of Sir Henry Yule and Paul Pelliot,[4] this notion was in a fair way to attaining academic respectability when in 1948 Sauvaget published his definitive edition and translation of the text: *Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde* (Paris). Under the penetrating scrutiny of this scrupulous Arabist Sulaimān was forced to relinquish his claim to authorship and assume the less distinguished role of a minor informant. Sauvaget demonstrated without doubt that the text was one of the large genre of anonymous *'akhbār*, literally '*inquiries*', or more simply 'tales'. For a list of other works in this class dated earlier than A.H. 300 (A.D. 914) see Sauvaget, p. xx.

(2) *A.D. 844–8. Ibn Khurdādhbih* was an official in the central postal service at Sāmarra on the Tigris when he was commissioned by the Caliph Al-Mu'tamid to compile his *Kitāb al-masālik wa'l-mamālik (Book of the roads and kingdoms)*. This work was highly esteemed by early writers such as Mas'ūdī who eulogized it as the finest of all topographies, 'an inexhaustible mine of facts that can always be worked with profit'. Of the territories within the Muslim empire this is largely true, but it is apparent that the sections on South-East Asia are added only for the sake of completeness. Rejecting unverified tales of the monstrous and miraculous, but at the same time lacking authentic information, Ibn Khurdādhbih had no choice but to keep his remarks brief.

The text of this work, based on MSS. in the Bodleian Library and in Constantinople, was published, together with a French translation, by Barbier de Meynard in 1865: 'Le livre des routes et des provinces', *JA*, tome v, pp. 1–127; 227–96; 446–527. In 1889 De Goeje edited what is still the standard text: *Kitāb al-masālik wa'l-mamālik, liber viarum et regnorum, auctore Abū'l-Ḳāsim 'Obaidallah ibn 'Abdallah ibn Khordādhbeh . . . quem cum versionne gallica edidit, indicibus et glossario instruxit* . . . (Leyde, 1889).

[1] *Les états hindouisés*, pp. 182, 221.

[2] *JMBRAS*, vol. xxiii, pt. 1 (1950), pp. 21-3.

[3] 中國南海古代交通叢考, p. 249.

[4] Both Yule (*Cathay and the way thither*, vol. i, p. 126) and Pelliot (*TP*, vol. xxi, 1922, pp. 401–2), neither primarily an Arabist, had pronounced against this belief.

(3) c. *875–80*. *Ya'qūbī*, of the family of the 'Abbāsid caliphs, lived in Khorāsān but travelled as far afield as North Africa and India. He is chiefly remembered for his history of the 'Abbāsids up to A.D. 872, for which he drew on the whole upon reputable authorities, and which is notable as the first historical work written from the Shī'ite point of view. An annotated text was published by Th. Houtsma in 1883: *Ibn-Wādhih qui dicitur Al-Ja'qūbī Historiae, pars prior historiam ante-islamicam continens, edidit indicesque adjecit* . . . (Leyde). In about 891 Ya'qūbī also wrote a topography which has been partially edited by De Goeje in vol. vii of his *Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum* (Leyde, 1892).

(4) *902*, *Ibn al-Faqīh*, of the city of Hamadhān, compiled a discursive topography, material for which he borrowed freely from a variety of authors. His own work has long been lost and we now possess only an extract made in 1022 by 'Ali bin Ja'far de Shayzar, which has been edited and annotated by De Goeje as vol. v of his *Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum: Compendium libri 'Kitāb al-boldān' auctore Ibn al-Faḳīh al-Hamadhāni quod edidit, indicibus et glossario instruxit* . . . (Leyde, 1885).

(5) c. *903*. *Ibn Rustah*. Little is known of this author beyond the fact that c. 903 he was in Ispahān where he compiled his encyclopedia entitled *Kitāb al-A'laq al-Nafīsah (Book of precious stones)*. The topographical information, in vol. vii, was edited by De Goeje under the title *Kitāb al-a'lak an-nafīsa, VII, auctore Abū 'Alī Aḥmed ibn 'Omar ibn Rosteh* (Leyde, 1892).

(6) c. *916*. *Abū Zaid* enjoyed the advantage of dwelling in *Sīrāf*, a port on the Persian Gulf much frequented by Eastern merchants, so that although he did not himself, as he claims, travel in India and China, yet he was well situated to interrogate sailors and merchants from those parts. His aim is stated explicitly as the modification and completion of the work now known as the *'Akhbār aṣ-Ṣīn wa'l-Hind*, with which it is in fact to be found in *MS. No. 2281* (page 244 above). For some of his new information Abū Zaid was indebted to Mas'ūdī whom he met at Basra in A.H. 303 (A.D. 916) and to whom he acknowledges the loans not by name but as 'a trustworthy person'. Abū Zaid's envoi is a summary guide to his methods: 'Such is the most interesting matter that I have heard among the many accounts to which maritime adventure has given birth. I have refrained from recording the false stories which

sailors tell and which the narrators themselves do not believe. A faithful account although short is preferable to all'.[1] Reinaud's *Relations des voyages* (1845) is still the only edition and translation of Abū Zaid's text.

(7) c. *940*. *Abū Dulaf* lived at the court of the Sāmānids at Bokhārā but acquired further experience of Central Asia when he accompanied an embassy to China. The account of his journey which he wrote on his return but which is now preserved only in the works of Qazwīnī and Yāqūt, was characterized by Sir Henry Yule as follows: 'On the whole the impression gathered is, that the author's work . . . contained genuine matter in an arrangement that was not genuine'.[2]

Abū Dulaf's voyage was first translated by Wüstenfeld ('Des Abu Dolef Mis'ar Ben el-Mohelhel Bericht über die Türkischen Horden in der Mitte des Zehnten Jahrhunderts, aus dem kosmographischen Werke des Zakerija Ben Muhammed el-Cazwini', *ZE*, 1842, pp. 205–18), who based his version on a text of Qazwīnī in *MS 231* of the *Catalogus librorum qui in Bibliotheca Gothana asservantur*. Three years later Kurt von Schlözer used texts preserved by both Qazwīnī and Yāqūt to establish his Arabic text, which he published together with a Latin translation: *Abu Dolef Misaris ben Mohalhel de itinere Asiatico commentarius* (Berlin, 1845). This text was deservedly considered reliable by a succession of later historians and orientalists, including Sir Henry Yule,[3] but has since been superseded by 'Das Itinerar des Mis'ar ben al-Muhalhil nach der chinesischen Haupstadt' in J. Marquart's *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge* (Leipzig, 1903), pp. 74–95.

(8) *943*. *Mas'ūdī* spent most of his life in travelling and gathering material for his numerous compilations. On journeys to places as far afield as Spain, India and the heart of Russia, he recorded his impressions without fear or prejudice. Of the Ptolemaic synthesis he was often sceptical, not least as it depicted the geography of the Indian Ocean and South-East Asia. But despite his interest in the latter part of the world, his claim to have visited South-East Asia in person is unlikely to be substantiated. Most of his new facts

[1] From the French of Reinaud, *Relations des voyages*, tome i, pp. 153–4.
[2] *Cathay and the way thither*, vol. i. p. 225.
[3] *Cathay and the way thither*, vol. i, pp. 138–9.

were probably acquired from merchants and sailors, while the rest of his information was derived from earlier works such as that of Abū Zaid and the *'Akhbār aṣ-Ṣīn*. The curiously modern outlook of this 'man of the tenth century with a fifteenth-century renaissance mind'[1] is further reflected in the eclecticism with which he examined all the opinions he was able to collect (though he by no means invariably made the choice of a modern) and in the way he described Muslim and infidel countries with impartiality. *Kitāb murūj al-dhahab*, the book in which he incorporated the observations and comments of a lifetime's travels, became the prototype and exemplar for later Arab histories. Part of it was translated into English by A. Sprenger (London, 1841) but the standard text, with a French translation, was the work of C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, *Les prairies d'or* (Paris, 1861).

(9) *The thousand and one nights*. This collection of stories is both undated and anonymous but, because there is no mention of China in any of the tales, Ferrand considers that they originated in the early days of Arab eastward exploration when that country was all but unknown.[2] Arab travellers who visited China invariably made much of their achievement, which indeed was the very stuff of story-telling. The text was edited and translated by Langlès in Savary's *Grammaire de la langue arabe* (Paris, 1813).

(10) *Buzurg b. Shahrīyā of Rāmhurmuz* is known only as the author of the *'Ajā'ib al-Hind (The wonders of India)*, a collection of tales of the East strung together as a sailor's narrative. The date affixed to the earliest MS. of this work is so indistinct that it may be read as A.H. 644 or 744 or even 944. Whereas De Goeje and Karabacek prefer A.H. 644 (=A.D. 1247) and Houtsma A.H. 904, Ferrand refuses to admit the legibility of the date at all. Van der Lith, seeking internal evidence as to the period of the stories, encountered mutually contradictory dates which, on the assumption that the whole corpus was compiled by one man, could only be reconciled by textual emendation. Ferrand, on the other hand, regards Buzurg's collection as only a nucleus to which later tales were added, an hypothesis more in keeping with the nature of the *'ajā'ib* literature.[3] In 1878 Marcel Devic published a translation of

[1] Kimble, *Geography in the Middle Ages*, p. 53.
[2] *Relations de voyages*, vol. ii, p. 564.
[3] *Relations de voyages*, vol. ii, p. 564–5.

the text in the Jeannet-Picard collection, a version which, with some revisions, was incorporated with P. A. Van der Lith's annotated edition of the Arabic: *Kitāb 'ajā'ib al-Hind, Livre des merveilles de l'Inde par le capitaine Bozorg bin Šahriyār de Ramhormoz* (Leyde, 1883–6).

(11) c. *1030*. *Bīrūnī's* important contributions to knowledge were in the fields of history, mathematics and medicine and such geographical information as he provides is incidental to these main interests. After travelling in India he recorded his observations in the *Kitāb Abī ar-Rīḥān Muḥammad bin Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī fī taḥḳīḳ mā li-'l-Hind min maḳūla fī al-'aḳīl aw mardzūla*, a work which has been edited by E. Sachau: *Alberuni's India, an account of the religion, philosophy, literature, chronology, astronomy, customs, law and astrology of India, about A.D. 1030* (London, 1887). In 1910 Sachau also published an annotated and indexed English translation (2 vols., London). Subsequently, while residing at the court of Sultan Mas'ūd, Bīrūnī compiled a comprehensive encyclopedia of technical terms from geometry, arithmetic, astronomy and astrology. In the third division of this work are numerous passages relating to geographical topics. The only translations of such passages are those included in Reinaud's *La Géographie d'Aboulféda*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1848).

(12) *1154*. *Idrīsī*, a scion of a noble Moroccan family, travelled widely in Europe, Africa and the Levant before settling in Palermo at the court of Roger II of Sicily, at whose instigation he compiled his geographical treatise: *Kitāb nuzhat al-mushtaḳ fī ikhtirāḳ al-āfāḳ (The Book of delights for those who desire to travel round the world)*. This is prefaced by a brief description of the earth as a globe, after which follows a lengthy account of the regions of the world derived from an artificial subdivision of the seven main Ptolemaic climata. Sicily at this time was the rendezvous of navigators from the whole of the Mediterranean as well as from the Atlantic and the North, so that Idrīsī was better informed of current events in Europe, Africa and the Levant than were his contemporaries in the more remote Asian centres of Islamic culture, but in comparison with them he was less well informed on the geography of South-East Asia. Even his patron's generosity in commissioning travelling agents to search out the latest information, coupled with his own undoubted genius as evidenced in his

account of Africa, could not prevent Idrīsī from making of his Eastern geography a farrago of nonsense. Tibbetts (*MJTG*, volume 9, page 35) has suggested that some of his statements are best interpreted on the assumption that he was simply reading names off his own map.

An abridgment of Idrīsī's text was published at Rome in 1592, and a Latin translation at Paris in 1691: *Geographia Nubiensis, id est accuratissima totius orbis in septem climata divisi descriptio continens, praesertim exactam universae Asiae et Africae, in Latinum versa a Gabriele Sionita et Joanne Hesronita.* In 1796 Hartmann derived his *Edrisii descriptio Africae* from the earlier abridgment. The standard translation is still that by P. A. Jaubert, *La géographie d'Edrisi*, 2 volumes (Paris, 1836–40). Reinaud in his introduction to Abū'l-Fidā' was strongly critical of Jaubert's rendering of many place-names, but later investigation has shown that some of the apparent distortions were in fact derived from variations in Jaubert's text. Nevertheless, this translation should be used with care whenever Idrīsī mentions an uncommon name.

(13) *1224. Yāqūt* spent his life as a merchant, copyist and book-seller in various parts of the Middle East ranging from Alexandria to Balkh, so that he was not unfitted by training and experience to undertake the compilation of a geographical dictionary. Yet his *Mu'jam al-Buldān* contains very little original information, being in effect a collection of borrowings from earlier writers. An abridged version was published between 1852 and 1864 by T. G. J. Juynboll, *Lexicon geographicum cui titulus est Marāṣid al-iṭṭilā' 'alā asmā al-amkina wa al-biḳā*, 6 vols. (Leyde), followed soon afterwards by the complete text in F. Wüstenfeld's *Jacut's geographisches Wörterbuch*, 6 vols. (Leipzig, 1866–70).

(14) *1203–83. Qazwīnī* passed an apparently uneventful life in Kasbin, Damascus and the vicinity of Baghdad. He was pre-eminently an academic encyclopedist, compiling collectanea from the works of his predecessors, notably Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Haukal. His works take the form of natural histories whence he is not infrequently dubbed the Pliny of the East. Wüstenfeld has edited two of his works: *Zakarija ben Muhammed ben Mahmud el-Cazwini's Kosmographie:* Erster Theil, *Kitāb 'adjāïb al-makhlūḳat* (Göttingen, 1849); Zweiter Theil, *Kitāb āthār al-bilad* (Göttingen, 1848);

while Hermann Ethé has prepared a German translation of the first half of Wüstenfeld's text (Leipzig, 1868).

(15) *1208/14–1274/86. Ibn Sa'īd* was an inveterate traveller throughout North Africa and the Middle East during the thirteenth century but his work is not conspicuously original. There have been several *ad hoc* editions of parts of the text but the only adequate translation of those passages referring to the Indian Ocean and South-East Asia is that by Ferrand in *Relations de voyages*, vol. 2, pp. 316–52.

(16) c. *1325. Dimashqī* was simultaneously imam, mystic and poet but his inspiration deserted him during the compilation of his cosmography, *Nukhbat ad-dhar fī 'adjā'ib al barr wa al-baḥr*. Not only did he adopt the confused notions of South-East Asian geography current among his contemporaries but he confounded the problem yet further by muddling his quotations (e.g., page 220 above). His text has been edited by Mehren: *Cosmographie de Chems-ed-din Abou Abdallah Mohammed ed-Dimichqi* (St. Petersburg, 1866) and the same scholar has also issued a French translation, *Manuel de la cosmographie du moyen âge* (Paris, 1874).

(17) *1273–1331. Abū'l-Fidā'* in 1310 received the Sultanate of Ḥamāt as a reward for his services to the Egyptian throne so that we might have expected his encyclopedia *Taḳwīm al-buldān* to embody the latest information about the contemporary world, which it is the business of sultans to acquire. But we find this warrior-prince ignoring the fund of current knowledge which must have been available to him in favour of the dubious tenets of Authority, particularly as manifested in the works of Bīrūnī. Although he did not scruple on occasion to maintain his own point of view with regard to cosmographical theory, he contributed nothing original to Arab knowledge of South-East Asia.

Abū'l-Fidā's encyclopedia has been published by Reinaud and MacGuckin de Slane (Paris, 1840), and translated (with commentary) in *Géographie d'Aboulféda*. Vol. 1 of this work is a general introduction to Arab geography (Paris, 1848), while vol. 2 is a joint translation by Reinaud and Stanislas Guyard (Paris, 1883).

PART V

Three Forgotten Kingdoms

CHAPTER XVI

LANGKASUKA

ONE of the most intriguing of the early kingdoms whose story is but partially revealed by the major bodies of evidence discussed above is *Langkasuka*, a name which runs thread-like through the pages of Malayan history from the second to the early sixteenth century. After some four centuries during which it had been erased from the map of the Peninsula, *Langkasuka* recently became a topic of debate when it was mooted as a possible name for independent Malaya. As will appear from the sequel this was a singularly unfortunate suggestion, but one which might well be excused, for the belief that this kingdom extended throughout at least the northern part of present-day Malaya has obtained wide credence among the Malay community. Nor, it must be admitted, has there been any great degree of unanimity among scholars as to the precise location of *Langkasuka*. Groeneveldt,[1] Schlegel,[2] Huber,[3] Pelliot,[4] Gerini,[5] Blagden,[6] Rouffaer,[7] Luce,[8] Linehan[9] and Coedès[10] all found it necessary to speculate on the historical geography of this state but differed considerably in their interpretation of the

[1] *MPI*, second series, pp. 135–8.

[2] *TP*, tome ix, (1898), pp. 191–200.

[3] *BEFEO*, tome iv (1904), pp. 474–5.

[4] *BEFEO*, tome iv (1904), pp. 405–10.

[5] *JRAS*, (1905), pp. 495–500 and *Researches*, p. 825.

[6] *JRAS*, (1906), pp. 119.

[7] In Krom, 'De eigennamen in den Nāgarakṛtāgama', *TBG*, deel lvi (1914), p. 521.

[8] *JBRS*, vol. xiv (1925), pp. 158–69.

[9] *JMBRAS*, vol. xxi, pt. 1 (1948), pp. 119–23.

[10] *BEFEO*, vol. xviii (1918), pp. 11–13 and *Les états hindouisés* (See index, p. 432 for numerous references).

evidence. Ferrand[1] and Braddell[2] devoted complete sections of their works to an analysis of its location, while recently the present author has re-examined the problem.[3] The evidence is set out below in some detail.

CHINESE EVIDENCE

The most detailed description of this country is found under the orthography 狼牙修 *(Lang-ya-hsiu)* first in the *Liang-shu*,[4] a Chinese history written in the early seventh century, then in the form 狼牙脩 in the eighth-century *T'ung Tien*,[5] later in the *T'ai-p'ing Huan Yü Chi*[6] and finally in the *Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao* compiled by Ma Tuan-lin in about A.D. 1300.[7]

狼牙脩國在南海中其界東西三十日行南北二十日行去廣州二萬四千里土氣物產與南略同偏多篾沈婆律香等其俗男女皆袒而彼髮以古貝爲干縵其王及貴臣乃加雲霞布覆胛以金繩爲絡帶金鐶貫耳女子則被布以瓔珞繞身其國累樓爲城重門樓閣王出乘象有幡毗旗鼓罩台蓋兵衛甚設國人說立國以來四百餘年後嗣襄弱王族有賢者國人歸之王聞知乃加囚執其鑠無故自斷王以爲神因不敢害乃斥逐出境逐奔天竺天竺妻以長女俄而狼牙王死大臣迎還爲王二十餘年死子婆加達多玄天監十四年遣使阿撒多奉表曰

The kingdom of *Lang-ya-hsiu* is situated in the Southern Sea. Its frontiers are thirty days' journey from east to west and twenty from south to north. It is twenty-four thousand *li* distant from *Kuang-chou* (Canton). Its climate and products are somewhat similar to those of *Fu-nan*. Aloeswood, Barus camphor[8] and suchlike are especially abundant. It is customary for men and women to go with the upper part of the body naked, with their hair hanging dishevelled down their backs, and wearing a cotton *kan-man*.[9] The king and his high officials add

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[1] *JA*, tome xii (1918), pp. 134–45 and 153–4.

[2] *JMBRAS*, vol. xxiii, pt. 1 (1950), pp. 1–36.

[3] *TP*, vol. xliv (1956), pp. 387–412.

[4] Chap. 54, f. 18 recto *et seq.*

[5] Chap. 188, f. 1009.

[6] Chap. 176.

[7] Chap. 331, f. 2602.

[8] For 婆律 meaning *Barus* (Arab *Balus*) see Schlegel, *TP*, tome ix (1898), p. 192 and deuxième série, vol. i (1900), p. 109; Pelliot, *BEFEO*, tome iv (1904), p. 341; and Ferrand, *JA*, tome xiv (1919), p. 56, note 3. For 棧香 or 箋香 see Laufer, *JA*, tome xii (1918), p. 26, note 2.

[9] Here the Malay *sarong*, but see Pelliot's long discussion in *Oeuvres posthumes de Paul Pelliot: III, Mémoires sur les coutumes du Cambodge de Tcheou Ta-kouan* (1951), pp. 162–78.

cloths of *yün-hsia*[1] to cover their shoulders, wear golden cords as girdles, and insert gold rings in their ears. The women wrap themselves in cotton cloths and coil jewelled cinctures about their bodies. Their kingdom (sc. city-state) is surrounded by walls to form a city with double gates, towers and pavilions. When the king goes forth he rides upon an elephant. He is accompanied by banners, fly-whisks, flags and drums and he is shaded with a white parasol. The soldiers of his guard are well appointed. The inhabitants of the country say that their state was founded more than four hundred years ago. Subsequently the descendants became weaker, but in the king's household there was a man of virtue to whom the populace turned. When the king heard of this he imprisoned this man, but his chains snapped unaccountably. The king took him for a supernatural being and, not daring to injure him, exiled him from the country, whereupon he fled to India. The king of India gave him his eldest daughter in marriage. Not long afterwards, when the king of *Lang-ya* died, the chief ministers welcomed back the exile and made him king. More than twenty years later he died, and was succeeded by his son, P'o-ch'-ieh-ta-to (possibly Bhagadatta).[2] In the fourteenth year of the T'ien-chien period (A.D. 515) he sent an envoy, A-ch'e-to, to present a memorial to the Emperor.[3]

Lang-ya-hsiu is mentioned again in a passage that occurs in the three encyclopedias *T'ung Tien*, *T'ai-p'ing Huan Yü Chi* and *Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao* which relate the voyage of Sui envoys to *Ch'ih-t'u*.[4] From an island off the coast of *Campā* they voyaged southwards, followed a chain of islands which have been tentatively identified with the Samui group,[5] and after a further two or three days 'they saw in the west the mountains of *Lang-ya-hsiu*' 行二三日西望見狼牙修國之山. Now this information is also to be found in parallel passages in the *Sui-shu* and the *Pei-shih*, but here the name *Lang-ya-hsiu* is replaced by *Lang-ya-hsü* (須).[6] It is evident that these two forms were merely scribal variations of the name of a kingdom clearly located somewhere in north Malaya. A brief note in the *Chiu T'ang Shu* (repeated in the *Hsin T'ang Shu*)[7] adds that *Lang-ya-hsiu* adjoins *P'an-p'an*, a kingdom on or near the Bay of Bandon (page 50 above) while the *Liang-shu* records

[1] Probably the same as *Chao hsia* 朝霞, a term applied under the Sui and T'ang to a certain cloth, presumably on account of its colour. See Pelliot, *BEFEO*, tome iv, p. 390, note 4 and Luce, *JBRS*, vol. xiv (1925), p. 164, note 1.

[2] Cp. Pelliot, *JA*, tome iv (1914), pp. 390–1, –8 and 402; and Ferrand, *JA*, tome xii (1918), p. 140, note 1.

[3] The text of this memorial is given at length but contributes nothing to our knowledge of *Lang-ya-hsiu*. For a translation see Groeneveldt, *MPI*, pp. 136–7.

[4] *T'ung Tien*, chap. 188, section 4; *T'ai-p'ing Huan Yü Chi*, chap. 177, ff. 1 verso–3 recto; *Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao*, chap. 331, ff. 2602–3.

[5] p. 35 above.

[6] *Sui-shu*, chap. 82, ff. 3 recto–5 verso; *Pei-shih*, chap. 95, ff. 11 verso–14 recto.

[7] *Chiu T'ang Shu*, chap. 197, f. 2, recto: *Hsin T'ang Shu*, chap. 222C, f. 2, recto.

embassies from *Lang-ya-hsiu* to the Chinese court in A.D. 515, 523, 531 and 568.[1] We also find similar place-names in two much later works, the *Chu-fan-chih*, compiled in 1225 by Chao Ju-kua and the *Tao-i Chih-lioh* written by Wang Ta-yüan in 1349. Both these valuable accounts are discussed above (pages 67 and 80).

In the *Hsü Kao-seng-chuan* 續高僧傳, a collection of biographies of Buddhist monks compiled during the second half of the seventh century, it is recorded that the priest Chü-na-lo-t'o (Kulanātha, better known as Paramārtha, 500–569) wished to sail to the kingdom of *Leng-ch'ieh-hsiu* 棱伽修.[2] This name is suspiciously similar to the *Lang-chia-shu* 良迦戍 of I-Ching. In the *Ta-T'ang Hsi-yü Ch'iu Fa Kao-seng Chuan* 大唐西域求法高僧傳 we read that the three pilgrims, I-Lang, Chih-Ngan and I-Hsüan boarded a merchant junk (商舶) at Wu-lei 烏雷.[3] Thence,

掛百史陵萬波. 越舸扶南綴纜郎迦戍. 蒙郎迦戍國王待以上賓之禮.[4]

. . . they sailed away [lit. let hang the mooring ropes[5]] and weathered unnumbered billows. In their ship they passed *Fu-nan*[6] and anchored at *Lang-chia-shu*. They received from the King of the country of *Lang-chia-shu* the courtesy appropriate to distingushed guests.

I-Ching also tells us that the monk I-Huei died at *Lang-chia-shu*,[7] while another, Tao-Lin 道琳 by name, also visited this country on his way to India.[8]

乃杖錫遐逝鼓舶南溟. 越銅柱而届郎迦. 歷訶陵而經裸國. 所在國王禮待極致殷厚. 經乎數載到東印度耽摩立底國.

In an ocean-going junk he was buffeted through the southern wastes. He passed the Pillars of Brass[9] and reached *Lang-chia*. He passed *Ho-ling* (Java) and traversed the Naked Country (Nicobar Islands). The kings of those countries where he stayed showed him exceeding courtesy and treated him with great generosity. After several years he reached Eastern India in the Kingdom of *Tan-mo-li-ti (Tāmraliptī)*.

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[1] Chap. 2, ff. 2 verso and 11 verso; chap. 3, f. 6 recto; and chap. 4, f. 2 verso.

[2] Vol. l, no. 2060, chap. 1, p. 430a.

[3] A small seaport west of Pakhoi on the Gulf of Tong-king.

[4] Pt. 1, f. 94 verso.

[5] I am indebted to Professor Demiéville for this translation.

[6] An anachronism, for *Fu-nan* had by now been succeeded by *Chen-la*.

[7] f. 95 verso.

[8] Pt. 2, f. 97 recto.

[9] Off Culao Cham. *Vide* Stein, *Han-hiue*, vol. ii, fascicules 1–3 (1947), Appendix 4, pp. 147–201. See also Kaltenmark, *Han-hiue*, vol. iii, fascicules 1–2 (1948), pp. 45–58.

In another work, the *Nan-hai Chi-kuei Nei-fa Chuan* 南海寄歸內法傳, I-Ching adds more information about *Lang-chia-shu.*

圍：從那爛陀東行五百驛皆各東裔乃至盡窮有大黑山計當土蕃南畔傳云是蜀川西南行可一月餘便達斯嶺次此南畔邇近海涯有室利察呾羅國次東南有郎迦戍國次東有社和鉢底國次東極至臨邑國並悉極邊三寶.

Explanatory note

Eastwards of *Nālandā*[1] for 500 *yojanas* the land is called the Eastern March. At its eastern extremity are the Great Black Mountains[2] which are reckoned to be the southern boundary of *T'u-fan* (Tibet).[3] They are said to be south-west of the province of *Shu* (Ssŭ-ch'uan); one reaches this mountain range in a journey of rather more than a month. Southwards from this, and bordering the sea-coast is the kingdom of *Shi-li-ch'a-ta-lo (Śrīkshetra)*.[4] Further to the south-east is the kingdom of *Lang-chia-shu.* Further east is the kingdom of *She-ho-po-ti.*[5] In the extreme east is the kingdom of *Lin-i (Campā)*. The inhabitants of all these countries greatly reverence the three jewels.[6]

This is an especially important passage for parallel notices occur in two earlier works, the *Ta-T'ang Hsi Yü Chi* 大唐西域記 of Hsüan-Tsang,[7] and the *Ta-T'ang Ta-tz'ŭ-en-ssŭ San-ts'ang Fa-shih Chuan* 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 by Hui-Lin and Yen-Sung.[8] The following passage is from the first of these.

從此東北有室利差呾羅[9] 國次東南海隅有迦摩浪迦國次東有墮羅鉢底[10] 國次東有伊賞那補羅國次東有摩訶瞻波國郎此云林邑.

Thence [from *Samataṭa*[11]] north-eastwards is the kingdom of *Shih-li-ch'a-ta-lo (Śrīkshetra)*. Next, to the south-east, in a recess of the ocean, is the kingdom of *Chia-mo-lang-chia (Kāmalaṅka)*. Next, to the east is the kingdom of *To-lo-po-ti*

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[1] A great centre of Buddhist learning at the eastern end of the Rājagṛha valley (south-east of modern Patna).

[2] This must include, or be included in, the ranges flanking the Chindwin-Irrawaddy system on the west (not on the east as Takakusu supposed, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, 1896, frontispiece map).

[3] Rockhill, *JRAS*, (1891), p. 5.

[4] Thayekhittayā or Old Prome. For a discussion of the location of this place-name, see Luce, *JBRS*, vol. xiv (1925), pp. 160–1.

[5] Luce (*JBRS*, vol. xiv, 1925, p. 160) emends 社和鉢底 to 杜和鉢底 *(Tu-ho-po-ti)*, which is a possible transcription of *Dvāravatī*, and which brings this text into conformity with that of Hsüan-Tsang discussed below.

[6] Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha.

[7] Chap. 10, f. 51 recto.

[8] Chap. 2053, f. 240.

[9] The 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 uses the orthography 室利差怛羅

[10] 墮羅鉢底 in the second text.

[11] A kingdom on the coast north of present-day Chittagong—Luce, *JBRS*, vol. xiv (1925), pp. 199–202.

(Dvāravatī[1]*)*. Next, to the east, is the kingdom of *I-shang-na-pu-lo (Iṣāna-pura*[2]*)*. Next to the east is the kingdom of *Mo-ho-chan-po (Mahācampā)*, which is the same as *Lin-i*.

Clearly *Kāmalaṅka[suka?]* was situated in the same position relative to *Śrīkṣetra* and *Dvāravatī* as was I-Ching's *Lang-chia-shu*, and presumably these places were identical.

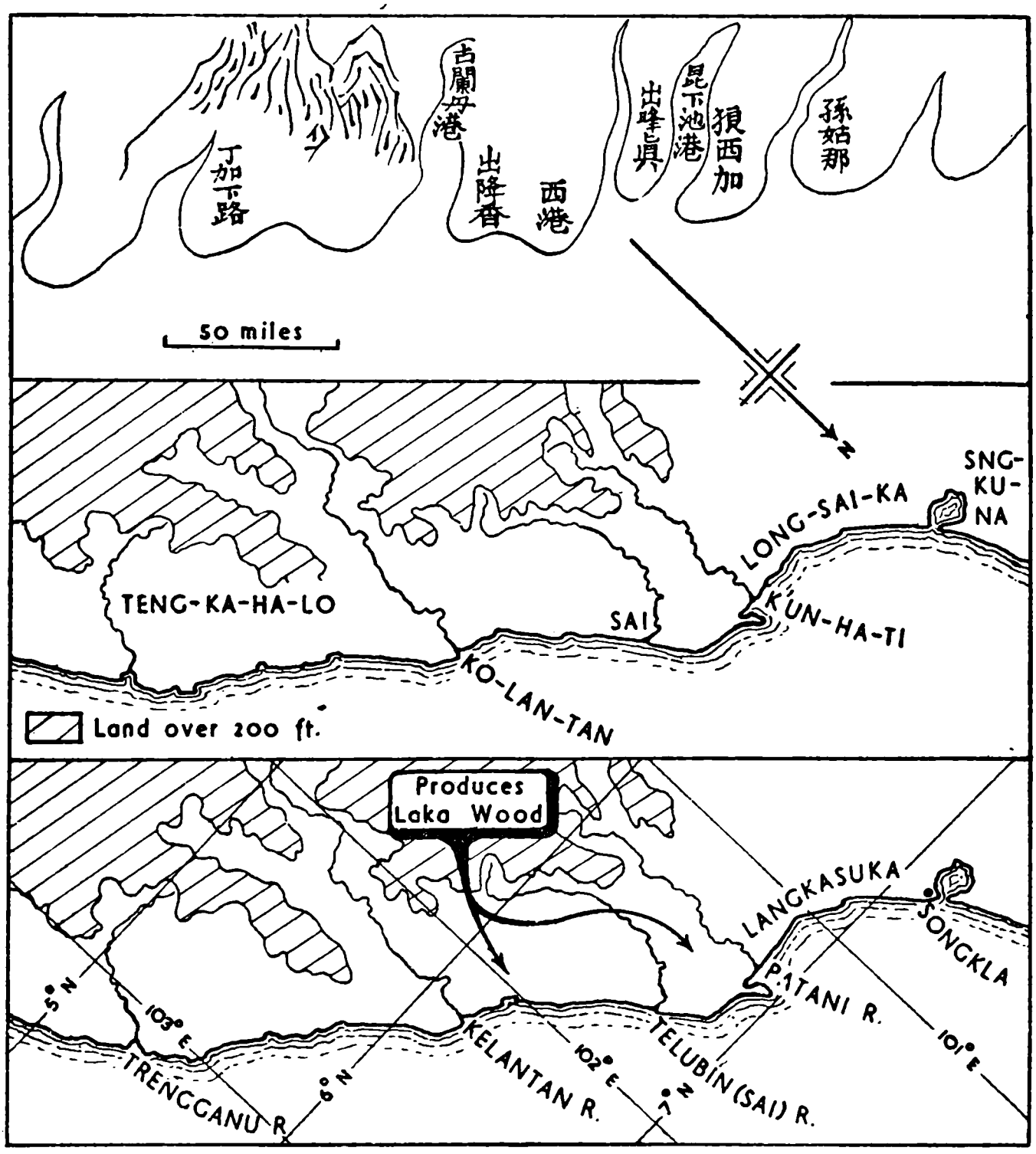

Fig. 42. Part of the east coast of the Malay Peninsula as depicted in the Wu-pei-chih, *chap. 240, folio 14 verso.* Top: The *Wu-pei-chih* chart. Middle: Place-names in the Amoy-Hokkien dialect. Bottom: Place-names in modern form.

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[1] A Mōn kingdom in the region of the lower Chao P'raya. See Luce, *JBRS*, vol. xiv, pp. 178–9 and Coedès, *Les états hindouisés*, p. 131.

[2] *Chen-la*. Cp. *Sui-shu*, chap. 82, f. 5 recto and *Pei-Shih*, chap. 95, f. 14 recto: section on *Chen-la*, 其王 . . . 居伊奢那城 that prince . . . dwells in the city of *I-she-na (Iṣāna[pura])*. Coedès *(Les états hindouisés*, p. 120) identifies this city with the group of monuments at Sambor Prei Kuk, north of Kompong Thom.

The final and, from the point of view of location, the most important piece of Chinese evidence, namely a map, occurs in the *Wu-pei-chih* (pages 91–103 above). That section of the chart depicting the north-east coast of Malaya (folio 14 verso) is illustrated on a reduced scale in Figure 42. *Lang-hsi-chia* (in Amoy Hokkien *Long-sai-ka)* is placed uncomprisingly to the south of Songkla (Singora). Its southern boundary appears to be a river with the name (in Amoy Hokkien) of *Kun-ha-ti*. It is difficult to suggest any modern place-name corresponding to this, but it is clearly in the position of the Patani River.

ARAB EVIDENCE

Almost contemporary with the Ming accounts discussed above is a much more precise reference in the *Kitāb al-Minhāj al-fākhir fi'ilm al-baḥr al-zākhir*, an Arab tract on navigation which is discussed at length in Chapter XV. On folio 69 we read that '*Langashukā (Lungsakā)* is at the extreme limits of "China" ' and, together with the port of Trang and the islands of *Sanbīlan Siam* (Sayer Islands), on a latitude at which the Pole Star is 2 *iṣba'* above the horizon. At '*Kalāndan (Kĕlantan)* of China' it is 1 *iṣba'* and at '*Singur* (Singora) the port of Kra' 3 *iṣba'*. One *iṣba'* is the equivalent of 1° 42′ 50″, so that in modern terms the latitude would be 7° 43′ N., but this is spurious accuracy for the Arab observations were not themselves sufficiently refined to sustain such an interpretation. Trang is actually in latitude 7° 35′ N., which is 20′ north of Singora and 1° 25′ north of Kĕlantan. However, it is clear that the author of these remarks intended to locate *Langashukā* on some latitude intermediate between Kĕlantan and Singora. That it was on the east coast of the Peninsula is clear from two circumstances. First, the text lists place-names according to latitude and in order from east to west. On its particular latitude *Langashukā* precedes, and was therefore to the east of, Trang, and as all the positions mentioned in these sailing directions are coastal, it must have been on the eastern littoral of the Peninsula (Fig. 43). The position most nearly consonant with these exigencies is the vicinity of Patani where the *Wu-pei-chih* charts have already located *Lang-hsi-chia*. In the second place, 'China' to the Arabs meant all the lands including and beyond the east coast of Malaya. The 'extreme limits of China' must here be read as 'on the east coast of the mainland of South-East Asia and fronting on the South China Sea'.

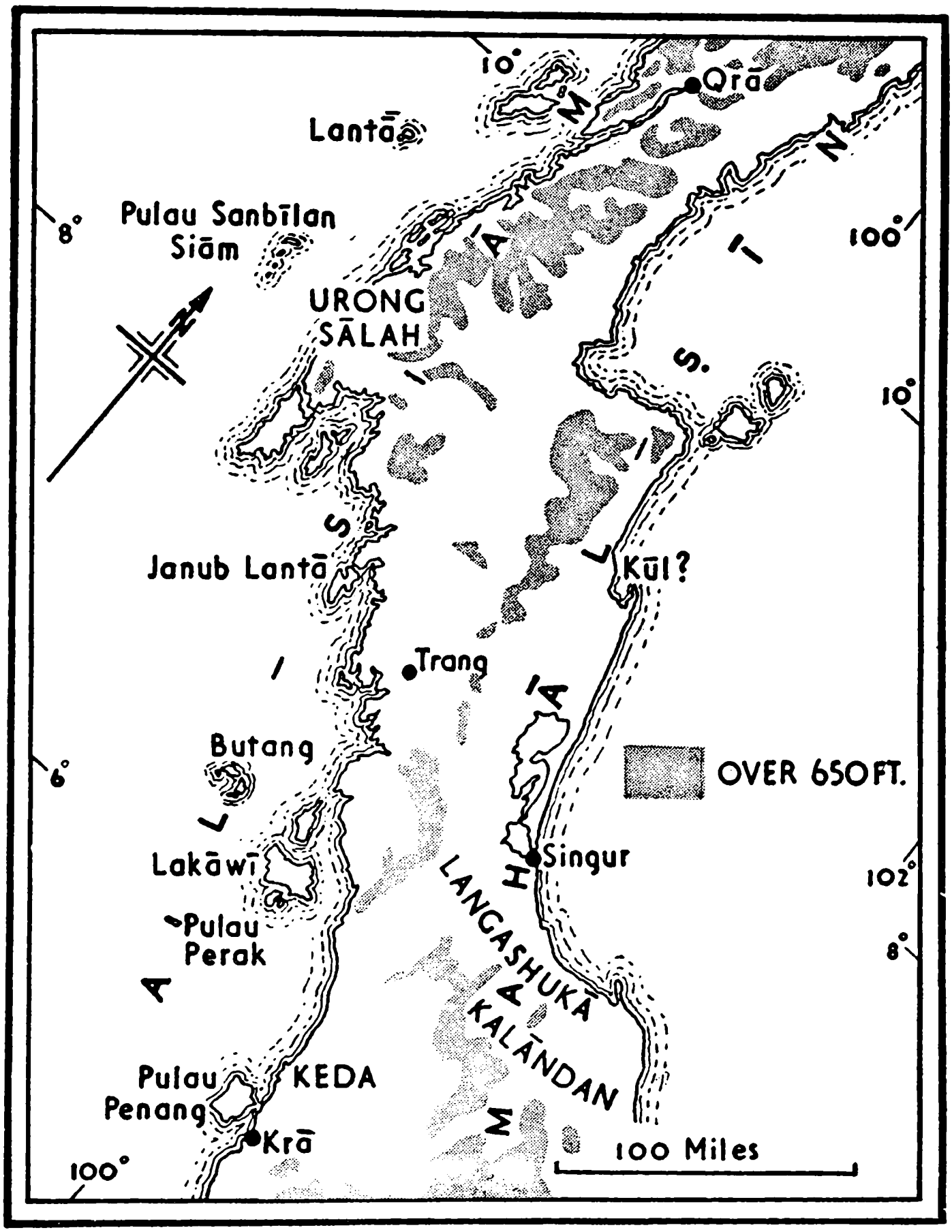

Fig. 43. Part of the Malay Peninsula as depicted in the sailing directories of Ibn Mājid and Sulaimān al-Mahrī. Based on a reconstruction by Tibbetts in MJTG, *vol. 9 (1956), p. 15.*

INDIAN EVIDENCE

Indian literature and epigraphy yield but a single mention of *Langkasuka*. Among the conquests of Rājēndra Cōḷa I as recorded in the Tanjore inscription (Chapter XIII) is '*Ilaṅgāśōka* undaunted in fierce battles'. The order in which the victories are enumerated

is apparently determined by the exigencies of verse, but it may not be wholly without significance that *Ilaṅgāśōka* occurs among a group of place-names such as *Tāmraliṅga* and *Talaittakkōlam* which are known to have been situated on the Malay Peninsula. In any case there can be no doubt that *Ilaṅgāśōka* is the same place as the *Langashùkā* of the *Kitāb al-Minhāj* and the *Lang-hsi-chia* of the Chinese sources. The *i* is a frequent prefix to foreign names beginning with a lingual or a liquid when rendered into Tamil. The accompanying phrase, 'undaunted in fierce battles', is without significance, being merely a play upon words.[1]

JAVANESE AND MALAY EVIDENCE

Javanese literature contains at least one reference to *Langkasuka*. In the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*, composed by the court poet Prapañca in A.D. 1365,[2] *Lengkasuka* appears as a state in *Pahang* (which meant in Javanese terminology the southern tracts of the Malay Peninsula) subject to the overlordship of Majapahit. Excluding the initial name, *Hujung-medīni* (Land's End = Johore), the provinces or states of *Pahang* are listed in two groups, those of the east coast first, followed by those of the west (page 301 below). *Lengkasuka* is included among the former, being placed next to *Sai*[*buri*].

Malay literature is no less explicit in indicating a location on the west coast. From the *Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa* or *Kĕdah Annals* we can extract the following relevant passages.[3]

Page 45. Maka raja Marong Mahawangsa pun bĕrtanya pada sa-orang malim yang tua di-dalam bahtĕra-nya itu. Maka kata-nya, 'Bahwa pulau yang bĕsar itu baharu hĕndak bĕrsatu dĕngan daratan itu bĕrnama Pulau Sĕri, dan pulau kĕchil itu bĕrnama Pulau Jambul dan ka-darat-nya sĕdikit bĕrnama Pulau Lada, tuanku.' Maka titah raja Marong Mahawangsa, 'Jikalau dĕmikian, singgah-lah bĕrlaboh kita di-tanjong pulau itu'.

Then King Marong Mahawangsa asked an old wise man in his ship, who answered, 'That large island, almost touching the mainland, is Pulau *Sĕri*, the small one is Pulau *Jambul*, and further landwards from there is Pulau *Lada*, my lord'. Then King Marong Mahawangsa said, 'Let us land at the cape of that island'.

Page 46. . . . lalu bĕrtĕmu-lah dĕngan tanah bumi yang baik tĕrlalu-lah indah tĕmpat-nya dĕngan tanah-nya mĕnjadi tiada-lah turun ka-bahtĕra-nya gila dĕngan mĕmbuat kota istana dĕngan balai-nya yang tĕrlalu amat bĕsar-nya lagi dĕngan indah-nya. Sa-tĕlah sudah balai itu maka di-namai akan dia Langkasuka.

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[1] Cp. p. 201 above.

[2] The *Nāgarakṛtāgama* was edited by Brandes (*VBG*, vol. liv, 1902) and translated by Kern (*VG*, vols. vii and viii). See also Krom, *TBG*, vol. lvi (1914).

[3] Based on the romanized edition of A. J. Sturrock, *JSBRAS*, no. 72 (1916), pp. 37–123. The English translation by P. E. de Josselin de Jong.

. . . then King Marong Mahawangsa came upon good land, very beautifully situated. He no more returned to his ships so eager was he to build a fortress with a palace and a hall, very large and beautiful. When the palace hall was completed he called it *Langkasuka*.

Page 55. Maka nĕgĕri itu pun daripada sa-bulan kapada sa-bulan daripada sa-tahun kapada sa-tahun maka bĕrtambah-tambah ramai-nya . . . Maka ada-lah pada suatu hari tĕngah ramai raja Marong Mahawangsa itu sĕdang di-hadap oleh sĕgala mĕntĕri pĕnggawa hulubalang sida-sida bĕntara biduanda sĕkalian pĕnoh sĕsak dan mĕńtĕri yang tua pun mĕnghadap di-balai Langkasuka itu.

The city grew more and more populous from month to month and from year to year . . . One day King Marong Mahawangsa was granting audience to great numbers of ministers, courtiers, commanders, chamberlains, pages and officials, who were all crowded into his palace hall *Langkasuka*. . . .

Page 59. Maka titah raja Marong Mahawangsa kapada mĕntĕri Rum, 'Sudah-lah beta rajakan anakanda ini. Maka sĕkarang akan nĕgĕri ini patut-lah kita namakan sa-suatu akan dia' . . . .'Jika dĕmikian kita namakan nĕgĕri ini nĕgĕri Kĕdah Zamin Dzuran sĕbutan-nya' . . . Tatkala itu di-pandang oleh raja Marong Mahawangsa ka-sabĕlah tanah daratan pulau Lada itu pun sudah mĕnjadi daratan akhir-nya di-sĕbut orang Bukit Lada nama-nya dan pulau Jambul itu pun boleh sĕmpurna juga akhir-nya nama Bukit Jambul sa-laku pulau Sĕri itu sangat-lah sudah hĕndak mĕnjadi bĕrtĕmu dĕngan daratan akhir-nya bĕrnama gunong Jĕrai karna sĕbab tinggi-nya.

Then King Marong Mahawangsa said to the Roman envoys, 'I have installed my son as King. Now we should give our country a name' . . . 'We shall name this our country *Kĕdah Zamin Duran*' . . . King Marong Mahawangsa saw how Pulau (= island) *Lada* had joined the mainland, finally being called Bukit (= hill) *Lada*, just as Pulau *Jambul* was finally called Bukit *Jambul*. Pulau *Sĕri* was almost joined to the mainland and was eventually called Gunong (= mount) *Jĕrai* on account of its height.[1]

Page 63. Maka raja Marong Mahapodisat pun naikkan anakanda baginda itu ka-atas gajah Gĕmala Johari . . . Maka gajah itu pun mĕngangkatkan kĕpala-nya lalu bĕrjalan mĕnuju matahari hidup di-iringkan oleh sĕgala mĕntĕri hulubalang ra'yat tĕntĕra masok ka-hutan rimba bĕlantara yang bĕsar dan tĕrbit padang yang luas dan mĕlangkahkan bĕbĕrapa bukit dan gunong di-bawa oleh gajah Gĕmala Johari. Hatta bĕbĕrapa lama-nya bĕrjalan itu hampir-lah hĕndak bĕrtĕmu dĕngan laut, maka bĕrtĕmu pula dĕngan suatu sungai bĕsar tĕrus ka-laut juga. Maka bĕrhĕnti-lah gajah Gĕmala Johari kapada tĕmpat itu tanah-nya rata.

Thereupon King Marong Mahapodisat [son of Mahawangsa] made his son mount the elephant Gĕmala Johari . . . The elephant raised its head and set off towards the rising sun, accompanied by the ministers, commanders and soldiers. They entered a vast forest; later a plain came into sight. The King, on the elephant Gĕmala Johari, crossed several hills and mountains. After some time, when they had almost reached the sea, they came upon a great river flowing into the sea. On that plain the elephant Gĕmala Johari stopped.

Page 64. Maka titah raja pĕrĕmpuan, 'Baik-lah mamak-ku, patut sangat mamak-ku kĕmbali mĕnghadap paduka ayahanda baginda itu di-nĕgĕri Kĕdah sĕmbahkan nĕgĕri ini Pĕtani nama-nya' . . . Maka raja Sĕri Mahawangsa pun tiada-lah suka hĕndak dudok di-kota Langkasuka itu karna jauh sangat dari laut. Maka lalu di-titah-nya kapada mĕntĕri kĕĕmpat suroh chari himpunkan kapor dan kulit kĕpah hĕndak di-pĕrbuat kota ka-hilir karna sungai itu bĕsar dĕngau luas-nya bĕrtambah-tambah dĕngan ayer-nya tĕrlalu dĕras. Maka di-kĕrjakan-lah oleh sĕgala mĕntĕri hulubalang bagai titah itu. Maka raja Sĕri Mahawangsa pun tiada khali bĕrulang-ulang ka-hilir mĕlihat tĕmpat tanah bumi yang hĕndak di-pĕrbuat kota parit. Maka di-pĕrbuat-nya istana kĕchil ka-hulu ka-pada tanah bumi itu yang bĕrnama Sĕrukum.

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[1] A *gunong* is higher than a *bukit*.

> The princess-consort said, 'Go back to Kědah, to my royal father, and tell him that this is the country called Patani' . . . Now King Sěri Mahawangsa [son of Mahapodisat and described two lines previously as 'King of Kedah'] did not wish to stay at *Langkasuka* as it was very far from the sea. So he ordered his four ministers to gather lime and mussel-shells with which to build a fortress downstream, for the river was big and wide, broadening out and with a very swift current. The ministers carried out the royal command. King Sěri Mahawangsa unceasingly visited the downstream area where the moated fortress was to be built. Upstream in that area he built a small palace called *Sěrukum*.

It is clear from these passages that *Langkasuka* has passed into Malay folklore as a west-coast kingdom, the predecessor of modern Kědah, though the evident association of its rulers with Patani beyond the hills and forests may not be without significance. In fact, this association persisted in Malay legend even into the present century, for in 1906 Otto Blagden found that the spirit land of *Lakawn Suka* still featured in the mythology of Patani Malays, while the Kědah peasantry interpreted the realm of *Alang-kah-suka* as the domain of the fairy princess Sadong, 'who rules over the Little People and wild goats of the limestone hills, and persistently refuses all suitors, be they never so highborn or otherwise eligible'.[1]

There are, too, tantalizingly vague recollections among men still alive of a stream in North Malaya known as the Langkasuka. Wilkinson remembered it as a tributary of the Patani,[2] Winstedt as a tributary of the Perak River.[3] The latter scholar can also recall having seen the name on a manuscript map of a generation or so ago but, whatever was the precise location of the stream, there can be little doubt but that the eponymous factor here was the legend rather than the ancient kingdom itself.

The main implications of the above passages are fairly clear. There can be no doubt but that we are dealing with transliterations into various languages of one Malayan place-name, the indigenous form of which itself probably underwent some degree of modification through the two thousand or so years of its existence. Early voyagers to the South Seas, such as I-Ching, were vague as to the precise location of this kingdom, but the Chinese mariners' chart and the Arab sailing directions discussed above place it in the vicinity of modern Patani. For Buddhist pilgrims of the seventh

[1] Blagden, *JRAS*, (1906), p. 119. See also Skeat, *Fables and Folk-Tales from an Eastern Forest*, p. 81.

[2] *JMBRAS*, vol. xiii, pt. 2 (1935), p. 5.

[3] *TP*, vol. xliv, p. 406, note 2.

century, as for Chinese merchants at the end of the thirteenth, it was a port of call on the sea-route to India. With the distorted geography of Hsüan-Tsang, who in any case travelled to India by the land route and reported on South-East Asia only from hearsay, we need not concern ourselves. I-Ching's parallel account is possibly an uncritical reproduction of the earlier work. The only truly anomalous text in this scheme is the *Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa*, which places the palace hall of *Langkasuka* at the foot of Kědah Peak. The legend of Marong Mahawangsa is most probably a traditional version, transmuted in the folk-memory of the Kědah peasantry, of the coming of Indians in the early centuries of the Christian era,[1] but the chronicle as a whole is little more than a collection of fairy tales, which can ill stand comparison with the relatively precise information of the Chinese and Arab sailing directions. This Malay text is, moreover, the only authority for the belief that *Langkasuka* extended across the peninsula from sea to sea. Conceivably this was true for limited periods of its history but the passages we have discussed are, with one exception, unanimous in referring it to the east coast, and it is there that we must seek its home territory. Furthermore, Sir Roland Braddell has been at pains to show that a kingdom variously known as *Kāḷagam*, *Kaṭāha*, *Kaḍāram*, *Chi-t'o* 吉陀, or *Chieh-ch'a* 羯茶 occupied the territory now comprising approximately Kědah State,[2] and at no time is this recorded as a dependency of *Langkasuka*. Whenever the two states are mentioned in the same work they are clearly regarded as separate: *Ilaṅgāśōka* and *Kaḍāram* of the Tanjore inscription, *Ling-ya-ssŭ-chia* and *Chi-t'o* in the *Chu-fan-chih*, *Langkasuka* and *Kědah* in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*, *Long-sai-ka* and *Kit-ta* on the *Wu-pei-chih* charts and *Langasuka* and *Keda* in the *Kitāb al-Minhāj*.

According to the testimony of the *Liang-shu*, *Langkasuka* was founded early in the second century A.D. Subsequently there supervened a period of eclipse, which can be correlated with the imperialist activities of Fan-shih-man, King of *Fu-nan*. *Langkasuka* is not listed as a tributary of *Fu-nan* in the *Liang-shu* but was doubtless one of Fan-shih-man's unnamed conquests 'beyond the Great Sea'.[3] Presumably the Chinese chronicler considered it of

[1] See Chap. XII.

[2] *JMBRAS*, vol. xxiii, pt. 1 (1950), p. 33.

[3] *Liang-shu*, chap. 54, f. 9 recto. For a study of these conquests see Chap. II.

less importance than the other kingdoms on the Peninsula such as *Tun-sun* 頓遜 and *Chiu-chih* 九稚 which he mentioned by name. In the second half of the fifth century, after a dynastic schism apparently fostered by Indian influence, the fortunes of *Langkasuka* were restored and, as political manifestations of independence, during the sixth century four embassies were despatched to the Chinese court. Moreover, this resurgence of power may not be unrelated to similar events in *Fu-nan* where a brahman-inspired revolt organized from *P'an-p'an*, a kingdom adjoining *Langkasuka* on the north, preceded a second and more intensive phase of Hinduization. The final emergence of *Langkasuka* as a sovereign kingdom in the sixth century was concurrent with, and doubtless contingent upon, the decline of *Fu-nan*. At this time its territory was reputedly thirty days' march from east to west and twenty from north to south.

During the seventh century *Langkasuka* was a regular port of call on the sea-route to India but, judging by the T'ang histories which omit it from their record, its early importance waned during the ninth and tenth centuries. At about this time, too, it came to form a unit in the *Śrī Vijayan* thalassocracy, and in the eleventh century shared in the reverses inflicted on that empire by Rājēndra Cōḷa I. Chao Ju-kua still recorded *Langkasuka* as a tributary of *Śrī Vijaya*, but Prapañca's claim some century and a half later that *Langkasuka* owed allegiance to Javanese Majapahit is most likely the licence of a poet eulogizing his patron. In any case the millenium and a half of *Langkasuka's* history was fast drawing to its close for, although it features in Sulaimān al-Mahrī's sailing directions of 1511, it seems to have been unknown to the Portuguese of the sixteenth century. Similarly it finds no place in the account of Eredia,[1] an author and cartographer who spent much of his life in Malacca and obtained first-hand information about the interior of the Peninsula in the course of his duties as officer in charge of exploration and discovery.

Although they vary in detail, the texts are in fair agreement on the categories of commercial goods produced in *Langkasuka*. Chief among these in early times were aromatic woods, for long the staple interest of the Chinese in South-East Asia.[2] Eaglewood

[1] *Declaraçam de Malaca e India Meridional com o Cathay.*

[2] Cp. Chapters V, VI, VII and VIII above.

(篾沈, also known as aloeswood and *gharu)* was the pathologically diseased, fragrant wood of a small tree, *Aquilaria malaccensis*, found in the lower storeys of the Malayan forest. The Chinese traders developed a classification of minutely differing grades[1] of which the best, according to Wang Ta-yüan, was the product of *Langkasuka*. It should not go unobserved that this remark was echoed by Linschoten over two centuries later.[2] Barus camphor (婆律香), the product of the magnificent dipterocarp *Dryobalanops aromatica*, is virtually restricted to the east coast. The lakawood (降香, 降眞) noted by Ming voyagers was the scented heartwood of a thick liana, *Dalbergia parviflora*, common throughout the northern half of the Peninsula. Five species of *Diospyros* have been sources of ebony in Malaya but only two, *D. clavigera* and *D. lucida*, are at all common in Patani. Ivory and rhinoceros horns were two products of South-East Asia which always found a ready market in China. In return for these products of luxury and medicinal value the Chinese bartered chiefly textiles, both silks and cottons, and blue-and-white export porcelain such as occurs today on numerous archæological sites all over the Peninsula, including Patani.

Many of the perplexities which we have noted in these pages may well prove permanently insoluble, but enough has been salvaged from obscurity to show that *Langkasuka*, a kingdom of considerable importance during the first fifteen hundred years of the Christian era, was situated in the vicinity of modern Patani. Emerging as an entity early in the period of Indianization, it persisted through the vicissitudes of peninsular history until early in the sixteenth century when it mysteriously disappeared, leaving only a legendary name to peasant mythology.

[1] Chao Ju-kua, *Chu-fan-chih*, ff. 31–33.

[2] Burnell and Tiele, *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies*, vol. I (1885), p. 120. Linschoten, of course, was referring to the locality as Patani.

APPENDIX

Form of Name	*Source*	*Date*	*Location*
Lang-ya [-hsiu] 狼牙「脩」	*Liang-shu*, chap. 54 *T'ung Tien*, chap. 188 *T'ai-p'ing Huan Yü Chi*, chaps. 176, 177 *Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao*, chap. 331	early 7th century 8th century A.D. 976–83 1319	In the South Seas 24,000 *li* from *Kuang-chou* (Canton)
Lang-ya-hsü 狼牙須	*Sui-shu*, chap. 82 *Pei-shih*, chap. 95	7th century 7th century	In vicinity of Patani
Ling-ya-ssŭ[-chia] 凌牙斯「加」	*Chu-fan-chih*, part I	1225	—
Lung-ya-hsi-chio 龍牙犀角	*Tao-i Chih-lioh*	1349	—
Lung-ya-chia-mao 龍牙加貌	*Hsing-ch'a Sheng-lan*	1436	—
Leng-ch'ieh-hsiu 棱伽修	*Hsü Kao-seng-chuan*	7th century	—
Lang-chia-shu 郎迦戍	*Ta-t'ang Hsi-yü Ch'iu-fa Kao-seng Chuan* *Nan-hai Chi-kuei Nei-fa Chuan*	7th century 7th century	Beyond *Fu-nan* on route to India. SE. of *Śrikshetra* (Old Prome)
Chia-mo-lang-chia 迦摩浪迦	*Ta-T'ang Hsi-yü Chi* *Ta-T'ang Ta-tz'ŭ-en-ssŭ San-ts'ang Fa-shih Chuan*	A.D. 646 7th century	SE. of *Śrikshetra* SE. of *Śrikshetra*
Lang-hsi-chia 狼西加	*Wu-pei-chih*, chap. 240	c. 1628	Between Songkla and Patani R.
Langashukā (Lungsakā)	*Kitāb al-Minhāj al-fākhir fi-'ilm al-baḥr al-zākhir*	1511	Between Kĕlantan and Singora (Songkla)
Ilaṅgāśōka	Inscription on south wall of Rājarājeśvara temple, Tanjore	1030	On Malay Peninsula
Lengkasuka	*Nāgarakṛtāgama*	1365	North of Saiburi

APPENDIX—*(Continued)*

Form of Name	*Source*	*Date*	*Location*
Langkasuka	*Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa*	late 18th century	At foot of Gunong Jĕrai (Kĕdah Peak)
Alang-kah-suka	Kĕdah folklore	early 20th century	—
Lakawn Suka	Patani folklore	early 20th century	—
Sungei Langkasuka	MS. map in Taiping Museum	unknown	Tributary of Upper Perak River or Upper Patani

CHAPTER XVII

TAKOLA EMPORION

THE second kingdom or city-state to merit individual discussion is that known to the Ptolemaic corpus as *Takola emporion* *Τάκωλα ἐμπόριον*,[1] a name which has been held to occur in nearly a dozen other texts ranging in date from the seventh to the fourteenth centuries. Whether all the references are indeed to the same place is still a matter of debate, but that *Takola* was a town of some importance on the north-west coast of the Peninsula cannot be disputed.

Takola, the first of the place-names that the *Geography* lists within the Golden Khersonese, is set in latitude 160° 30′ E and 4° 15′ N, but we have seen above (pages 141–4) that the Ptolemaic co-ordinates are valueless as guides to the identification of place-names in South-East Asia. More valuable is the implication that *Takola* was situated at the head of a bay or estuary between two promontories (159° E, 4° 20′ N and 158° 20′ E, 2° 20′ N respectively). Although the map which we can reconstruct from the Ptolemaic data is badly distorted (Fig. 28), it does depict with comparative clarity the main features of the coastline between the Ganges and Red River deltas, and this undoubted degree of correspondence between map and terrain has induced a strong tendency among authors to identify the more northerly promontory with Puket Island. Sir Roland Braddell, for example, has deduced that *Takola* was situated to the south of that point, in the neighbourhood of Trang.[2] This is the meagre sum of knowledge which can be gleaned from the Ptolemaic evidence and we now turn to other sources.

In 1925 Sylvain Lévi[3] drew attention to a gloss on a word in the *Mahā-niddesa* from the second or third century A.D.:

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[1] Bk. VII, chap. 2. Cp. p. 140 above.

[2] *JMBRAS*, vol. xiv, pt. 3 (1936), pp. 26, 34–5; vol. xvii, pt. 1 (1939), p. 204 and vol. xxii, pt. 1 (1949), p. 2.

[3] *EA*, vol. ii, p. 1 *et seq.*

. . . he puts forth on to the high seas, and enduring frost and heat, mosquitoes and stinging insects, wind and sun, and hunger and thirst, he voyages on to *Gumba*, *Takkola*, *Takkasila*, *Kalamukha* . . .[1]

This same list of places is repeated word for word in another gloss in the same work.[2] Clearly it was a stereotyped sample of local colour introduced by the editor of the *Mahā-niddesa* whenever the occasion presented itself. The order in which these places are mentioned shows that the list cannot be regarded as a coherent itinerary, and Sir Roland Braddell is quite right to reject it as being 'of no real assistance in identifying any single place geographically'.[3] What the list does show, however, is that *Takkola* was a port well-known by name to Indians of the period. But this, and the fact that it was ranked in the list with, say, Alexandria, should not be adduced as a measure of its importance in the ancient world, for the context of the passage would seem to imply that, to the author of the *Mahā-niddesa*, *Takkola* was little more than another exotic name for his catalogue.

A second reference carries us a little further. In the *Milinda-pañha*, probably compiled at approximately the same time as the *Mahā-niddesa*,[4] we read:

As a wealthy ship-owner scrupulously discharges his port dues and, putting forth on to the high seas, voyages to *Vaṅga*, to *Takkola*, *Cīna*, *Sovīra*, *Suraṭṭha*, *Alasanda*, *Kolapaṭṭana*, *Suvaṇṇabhūmi* . . .[5]

This passage would seem to imply that *Takkola* could be regarded as an attractive destination for a merchant adventurer; and although the sequence of names cannot be combined into a trade-route, yet it may not be without significance that *Takkola* is placed between *Vaṅga* and *Cīna*. *Cīna* was, of course, China, and if, as Lévi thought, *Vaṅga* was Bengal, then *Takkola* would seem to have been situated somewhere between these two points, that is, on the coast of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. But if Majumdar is correct in identifying *Vaṅga* with the island of Bangka, the passage implies that *Takkola* was somewhere on the east coast of the Peninsula, a conclusion incompatible with the Ptolemaic evidence.

[1] From the French translation of Sylvain Lévi, *EA*, vol. ii, pp. 1–2. For the original Pāli see p. 181 above. Thirty-four place-names are mentioned in the complete list.

[2] *EA*, p. 2.

[3] *JMBRAS*, vol. xiv, pt. 1 (1939), p. 158.

[4] Lévi, *EA*, vol. ii, p. 51, but Nilakanta Sastri (*The Cōḷas*, vol. 1, p. 623) dates it as c. A.D. 400.

[5] For the Pāli text see p. 181 above.

The third piece of Indian evidence comes from the Tanjore inscription of A.D. 1030/1. As long ago as 1902 V. Kanakasabhai[1] suggested that the *Talaittakkōlam* mentioned among the conquests of Rājēndra Cōḷa I (page 199 above) was the same place as the Ptolemaic *Takola*, and this identification has been accepted by nearly all later writers.[2] The prefix *talai* is simply the Tamil word for 'head' or 'chief'. The order in which the names are mentioned seems to have been determined by the exigencies of verse so that it is not possible to deduce the position of *Takola* in relation to the other states of the Peninsula, but the inscription, together with the other scraps of Indian evidence, does afford additional indications that *Takkola* or *Takola* was in existence on or near the Malay Peninsula between the third and eleventh centuries of this era.

Some scholars have claimed that *Takola* is also mentioned under the form *Ko-ku-lo* 哥谷羅 in Chia-Tan's itinerary, as well as elsewhere in the *Hsin T'ang Shu*,[3] while it has been suggested that this same name occurs yet again under a different orthography, 葛古羅, in the *Sung-shih*[4] (page 59 above). In view of the high degree of probability that *Ko-ku-lo* was identical with the *Qāqullah* of the Arab topographers,[5] it is not surprising that a number of authors should have included this latter name as yet another variant of *Takola*, but these identifications are incompatible with the interpretations proposed in Parts I and IV above. Chinese and Arab records agree that *Ko-ku-lo* (or *Qāqullah)* was situated northwestwards of *Ko-lo* (or *Kalāh)* which we believe to have been in the vicinity of Puket Island, whereas the Ptolemaic *Takola* is plainly meant to be located to the south of that point. *Takola* can be equated with *Ko-ku-lo* and *Qāqullah* only by impugning the accuracy of the Ptolemaic data to a far greater extent than is warranted by the detailed study in Chapter X.

[1] *MR*, (1902), p. 231.

[2] e.g., Smith, *The early history of India*, p. 466; Ferrand, *Relations de voyages*, vol. ii, p. 647, note 5 and *L'empire sumatranais de Çrivijaya*, p. 45; Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, pt. 1, p. 177; Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, vol. i, p. 262 and *BEFEO*, tome 40 (1940), p. 287; Coedès, *BEFEO*, tome xviii (1918), p. 15 and *Les états hindouisés*, pp. 240–2.

[3] Chap. 222C, f. 5 recto.

[4] Chap. 490, f. 2 recto.

[5] *Qāqullah* is discussed at length in Chap. XIV above.

In the present state of our knowledge of Asiatic languages arguments based on linguistic correspondences are seldom conclusive, but the possible relationships between the forms of these several place-names from Greek, Indian, Chinese and Arab texts certainly require passing mention. Lévi[1] and St. John[2] have examined the etymology of *Takola* at some length. Lévi points out that it is a Sanskrit word which occurs also in Pāli literature and even in modern Indian languages such as Tamil and Telugu. Translators and commentators have ascribed various meanings to it, but all of them convey the idea of some aromatic plant such as bdellium, sandalwood, camphor or cardamom. In Sanskrit and Pāli texts the *t* is often replaced by a *k*, which reminds us: (1) that the Arab word for cardamom is *qāqullah*. However, this is a Persian word which also occurs in Pehlevi as *kākura*[3] and is therefore an old Indo-Aryan word. As such cardamom cannot have been named from the town, though the reverse might still be true; (2) the Chinese histories place *Ko-ku-lo* 哥谷羅 somewhere on the north-western coast of the Peninsula. Pelliot points out that the *ku* 谷 of *Ko-ku-lo* derives from a former *kuk*, but that there is no trace of such a final gutteral in the Arabic *Qāqullah*.[4] This is a weighty objection to any theory identifying *Ko-ku-lo* with *Qāqullah*, but in the *Sung-shih* the form of the name is 葛古羅 and in this 古 there is no trace of a final plosive.

The association of the *takkola-kakkola* of the Sanskrit and Pāli texts with cardamom recalls the passage in the *Yu-yang Tsa-tsu*[5] where we read that white cardamom 白荳蔻 comes from the land of *Ch'ieh-ku-lo* 伽古羅, where it is called *to-ku* 多骨. The ancient pronunciation of 多骨 was *ta-kut*, from a possible *takur*, and Pelliot has suggested that there may be a connexion between this early root, the *Takola* of Ptolemy, and the *Takkola* of the *Niddesa* and the *Milinda-pañha*.

Archæology affords confirmation of the fact that there was a number of Indianized, or partially Indianized, settlements scattered along the northern section of the west coast of the Malay

[1] *EA*, vol. ii, pp. 5–10.

[2] *Actes du Onzième Congrès International des Orientalistes* (1897), pp. 217–33.

[3] Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, p. 193.

[4] *TP*, vol. xiii (1912), pp. 453–5.

[5] Compiled c. A.D. 850 but incorporating information from the *Pen-ts'ao-shih-i* of A.D. 713–41.

Peninsula during the period covered by the above texts, but the nature of this evidence prohibits the identification of any particular site as that of *Takola*. Dr. Wales's claim[1] to have discovered archæological confirmation that *Takola* was situated on a small island off the mouth of the Takuapa River seems to be better known than his subsequent retraction of this opinion.[2] Other scholars, in attempting to locate this city, have invoked the circumstantial evidence of the map. Some, arguing from the external relations of this region with the rest of South-East Asia, have sought to connect *Takola* with one or other of the ancient trade routes crossing the isthmus; others have extolled the intrinsic values of this or that particular site for harbourage or agriculture; but all these arguments are conjectural and almost certainly illusory. The most we can say is that *Takola* was a port on the north-west coast of the Malay Peninsula and, on the Ptolemaic evidence, was probably in the neighbourhood of Trang.

[1] *Towards Angkor*, p. 47.
[2] *JMBRAS*, vol. xxiii, pt. 1 (1950), pp. 152–3.

CHAPTER XVIII

'THE SEAT OF ALL FELICITIES'

ARCHÆOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

In *Langkasuka* we have seen the emergence under Indian auspices of a kingdom with a history of its own even before the fifth century A.D. But the metropolitan territory of *Langkasuka* was on the east coast of the Peninsula and it might well be questioned whether equally early, or even more ancient, settlements might not be found on the west coast, which faced peninsular India directly across the Bay of Bengal. Voyagers from South India making for the northern entrance to the Strait of Malacca by way of the Nicobar Islands would expect to make their first landfall on the Malayan coast somewhere about the latitude of modern Kĕdah, and it is precisely this district which has yielded the most ancient archæological evidence of Indian influence so far discovered in Malaya. A century and more ago Colonel James Low investigated a number of archæological sites in Kĕdah and Province Wellesley and wrote of the 'undoubted relics of a Hindoo colony, with ruins of temples' extending 'along the talus of the Kedda mountain Jerrei', together with 'the mutilated images I have discovered'.[1] To Low we owe the seven fragments of a Sanskrit inscription of the fourth century A.D. from Chĕrok Tĕkun in Province Wellesley[2] and two Buddhist verses in Sanskrit from Bukit Mĕriam in Kĕdah. These are written in the oldest Pallava alphabet and for that reason have been ascribed by Majumdar to the fourth or fifth century.[3] But Low's most valuable find was probably a slate

[1] Low, *JIA*, (1849), p. 482.

[2] Low, *JASB*, vol. xvii, pt. 2 (1848), pp. 62–6, with comments by Laidlay, pp. 66–72. Both papers are reprinted in *MPI*, vol. i (1886), pp. 223–32.

[3] Low, *JASB*, vol. xviii, pt. 1 (1849), pp. 247–9. Reprinted in *MPI*, vol. i, pp. 232–4. Kern's transcription (*Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Afd. Lett., 3 reeks, deel i, 1883) is as follows:

Ye dharmā hetuprabhāvā teṣ[ṁ] hetu[ṁ] tathāgato [hyavadat]

Teṣā[ñ] ca yo nirodha eva[ṁ] vādī mahāśramaṇa[ḥ]

Ajñānāccīyate karma janmanaḥ karma kāraṇaṁ

Jñānānna kriyate karma karmmābhavānna jāyate.

See also R. C. Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, pt. 1, p. 90, and K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *South Indian influences in the Far East*, pp. 82–3.

slab which he discovered 'while engaged in excavating some old ruins on a sandy site', sometimes identified as the Guak Kĕpah pĕrmatang investigated by Dr. Wales a century later. The slab is inscribed with a *stūpa* surmounted by a *cattrāvali* and bears a Sanskrit prayer in fifth-century Pallava script for the success of a voyage about to be undertaken by a sailing-master *(mahānāvika)*, Buddhagupta, who dwelt in *Raktamṛttikā*, or the Red Land.[1] Kern and several subsequent writers identified this with the Red Land (*Ch'ih-t'u* 赤土) discussed above, while Krom[2] and Majumdar[3] located it in India. Whether Buddhagupta set up his inscription before beginning his voyage at all or before his return journey, in other words, whether Province Wellesley was his point of departure or his destination, we have no means of telling, but we can legitimately infer that the estuary of the Muda was either the resort of merchants or their home port during the fifth century A.D.

In 1925 Mr. I. H. N. Evans carried out exploratory excavations in these same districts,[4] but not until 1936 was the area thoroughly surveyed from the archæological point of view. Then Dr. H. G. Q. Wales excavated upwards of thirty sites in Kĕdah and Province Wellesley, including seventeen sanctuaries, three buildings provisionally identified as palace halls of audience and two forts, as well as a number of other unidentified buildings.[5] The earliest of these sites, and the only one north of Kĕdah Peak, is a fourth-century *stūpa* basement on the summit of Bukit Choras, an isolated, jungle-clad hill on the left bank of the Sungei Sala Bĕsar (Fig. 44). Next in age are the bases of two *stūpas* from the fifth or sixth centuries in the middle Bujang Valley, and a third of the same date from Guak Kĕpah pĕrmatang where Colonel Low is believed to have found the merchant captain Buddhagupta's inscription which, incidentally, bore the image of a *stūpa*. From c. 550–750 interest continued to centre on this middle course of the Bujang, where Dr. Wales excavated the foundations of ten Śaivite shrines. Between 750 and 900 two audience halls and two Mahāyānist temples were

[1] Low, *JASB*, vol. xvii (1848), pp. 62–6, and Laidlay, pp. 66–72. Reprinted in *MPI*, vol. i, pp. 223–32. Also R. L. Mitra, *JASB*, vol. xvii, pt. 2, p. 71; Kern, *VG*, vol. iii, pp. 255 *et seq;* and B. Ch. Chhabra, *JASB* (Letters), vol. i (1935), pp. xiv *et seq.*

[2] *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, p. 73.

[3] *Suvarṇadvīpa*, pt. 1, pp. 82–3.

[4] Evans, *Ethnology and Archæology of the Malay Peninsula*, pp. 105–121.

[5] Wales, *JMBRAS*, vol. xviii, pt. 1 (1940) and vol. xx, pt. 1 (1947), pp. 1–11.

added to the same stretch of river bank, while a further five shrines were built from one to two miles further downstream. Finally in the period after 900 it seems that the shrines in the middle Bujang Valley were abandoned in favour of sites nearer the Měrbok estuary or some six to seven miles up the Muda.*

In the early centuries of this era the Měrbok estuary presented a more attractive landfall to Indian shipping than would the shoals and swamps of the present river. It was wider and deeper, a bay, perhaps, rather than an estuary, with such littoral eminences as Bukit Pěnjara and Bukit Batu Lintang rising as islands from its tawny waters. Here Indian ships found a sheltered anchorage and probably a small community of indigenous folk practising subsistence cultivation, possibly eked out with a little fishing. No doubt at an early date these folk had diversified their simple economy by casual trading with Indian merchants entering the Strait of Malacca and their settlement, at first a mere village, had grown in proportion as it had become the collecting point for the forest products of the surrounding district, aided not a little by its situation at the western end of a trans-peninsular route to the east. When they first feature in the archæological record, these people were already building shrines in the valleys of the Měrbok Kěchil and the Bujang Rivers, particularly the latter. By the fifth century Buddhism had established itself, thus implementing for Indian merchants the attractions of commerce with a familiar cultural environment.

During the ensuing three centuries the cultural ties between this settlement and India were strengthened, but fashions changed and Buddhism was superseded very largely by Śaivism. Now the merchant landing on the northern shore of the Měrbok estuary and looking northwards towards Kědah Peak—doubtless an added attraction to devotees of the *liṅga* cult—would descry in the middle distance a receding succession of Śaivite temples marking the course of the Bujang River. Built on foundations of rounded boulders from the upper reaches of the Bujang, the *vimānas* of these shrines were oriented so that their entrances faced the east in the fashion of South Indian *liṅga* shrines. The presence of stone

* Since this was written in 1956 Dr. Alastair Lamb has called the dates of many of these shrines in question. Although it has not been possible to incorporate Dr. Lamb's conclusions in these paragraphs, his papers have been added to the bibliography, p. 352.

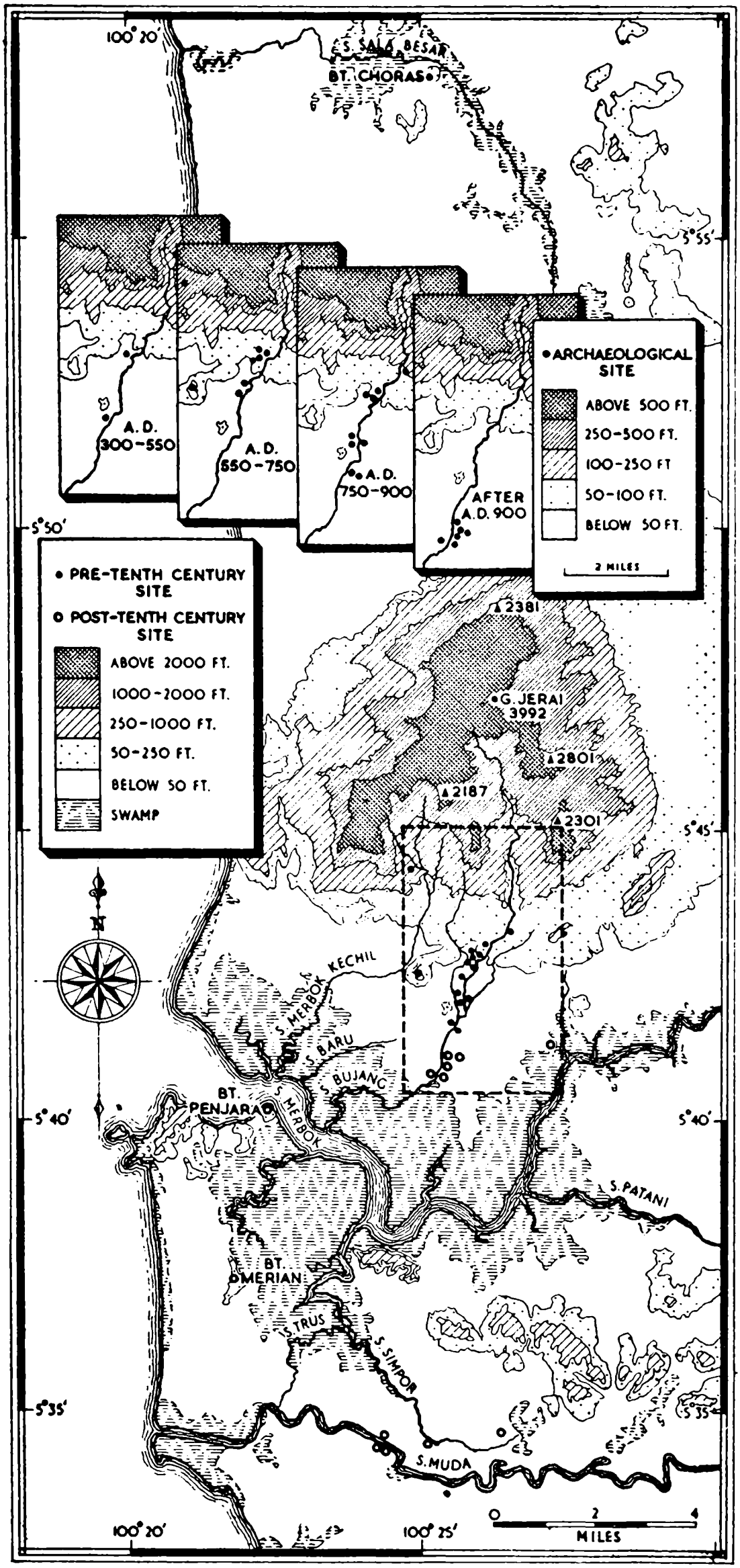

Fig. 44. Sites of Indian remains in Kĕdah. Insets: an apparent southward migration in the Bujang valley. Based on the investigations of Col. James Low, Mr. I. H. N. Evans, Dr. H. G. Q. Wales and the University of Malaya Archæological Society.

socles with square mortises, and the paucity of laterite blocks remaining on the sites, suggest that a large part of the superstructure was of wood. If the roof of a miniature bronze shrine found on one of the sites is held to be a replica of contemporary architecture, its openwork may well indicate that the roofs of the temples on which it was modelled were of carved wood or other perishable material, a conclusion corroborated by a complete absence of tiles. As for the houses of the inhabitants, presumably they were of atap, bamboo or wood.

In the later eighth and ninth centuries the pendulum of religious orthodoxy swung back and Mahāyānist shrines diversified the architectural landscape. In the middle course of the Bujang were two large buildings which Dr. Wales interpreted as halls of audience in a palace precinct; but there was also a significant extension of building southward towards the Měrbok River, possibly consequent upon the advance of the shoreline. No doubt Indian traders continued to frequent the port, together with Arabs who brought, among their other wares, the three fragments of lamps which were found amid the foundations of an audience hall situated on a low eminence overlooking a nameless tributary of the Bujang.[1] In this period, too, it seems that commercial contacts were established with China—though whether directly or through intermediaries is uncertain—for now T'ang porcelain first occurs in excavations.

In about the tenth century the port again became strongly Hindu, with a succession of shrines marking the left bank of the river and with another large audience hall on the opposite bank. In addition, a new settlement developed on the Muda River at a point not far from the site of the *stūpa* discovered by Colonel Low, but Dr. Wales has shown that ingress to this district was not through the estuary of the Muda. Rather was it by way of the Sungei Trus and Simpor.[2] In other words, colonization of the banks of the Měrbok naturally induced exploration and settlement of its southern tributaries. There is, too, a change in building

[1] Also deserving mention, though of limited value for dating purposes, are two silver coins of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate, one of which bears the date 234 A.H. (A.D. 848)—Wales, *JMBRAS*, vol. xviii, pt. 1 (1940), p. 32.

[2] Wales, *JMBRAS*, vol. xx, pt. 1 (1947), p. 11. This conclusion has been reinforced by investigations carried out by the University of Malaya Archæological Society in August 1956, when several new sites, as yet unexcavated, were discovered on the banks of the Sungei Trus.

materials on these later sites. In the absence of rounded boulders from the upper course of the Bujang, structures were now raised on foundations of laterite blocks. That trade with some countries of the West still continued is shown by the find of an Arab lamp of later date than those described above. Sung porcelain is common along the lower Bujang, while Yüan and even Ming comes from Kota Aur beside the Muda. There is, in fact, no reason to terminate the existence of many of these settlements before the coming of Islam to the Peninsula.

It would be surprising if a settlement of the extent of that brought to light by Dr. Wales had not featured in contemporary literature, and there is in fact good reason to believe that it is represented by a suite of place-names running thread-like through Chinese, Indian and Arab writings.

CHINESE EVIDENCE

We have seen (page 42 above) that at the close of the seventh century *Chieh-ch'a* 羯茶 was the point of departure for vessels setting out to cross the Bay of Bengal and also the port where pilgrims boarded *Śrī Vijayan* ships for the return voyage down the Strait of Malacca. It is probable that it was also the same as the kingdom of *Chia-cha* 迦乍 which sent an embassy to the Imperial Court in A.D. 638.[1] A further reference is embedded in the account of *Nan-p'i* 南毘 (Malabar) in the *Chu-fan-chih*, where Chao Ju-kua tells us that ships traded annually between that country and *Chi-t'o* 吉陀 (page 72 above). Wang Ta-yüan in 1349 added that the inhabitants were addicted to piracy,[2] a remark repeated by Fei-Hsin,[3] and finally the *Wu-pei-chih* chart marks the estuary of the *Chi-ta* River 吉達港 in the locality of modern Kědah. Apparently this state was not visited by the Ming fleets for the prescribed track turned westwards from Parcelar Hill towards the Sumatran coast by way of the Aroa Islands (page 101 above).

INDIAN EVIDENCE

There are abundant references in ancient and medieval Indian literature to place-names which have been equated with Kědah.

[1] Ma Tuan-lin, *Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao*, chap. 331 (section on *Po-li* 婆利).
[2] *Tao-i Chih-lioh*, f. 12 recto.
[3] *Hsing-ch'a Sheng-lan*, chap. 1, f. 9 verso.

These have been collated by Dato Sir Roland Braddell, on whose meticulous study this section is largely based.

One of the earliest presumed references to Kĕdah is contained in the Tamil poem *Paṭṭinappālai*, written at the end of the second or the beginning of the third century A.D. In a graphic description of *Puhar* (Kaveripaṭṭiṉam) we read of the imports into the *Cōḷa* capital *(lines* 184–93):

> . . . gems and gold born of the northern mountain, the sandal[wood] and *agil* (eaglewood) from the western mountain, the pearl of the southern sea, the coral of the western sea, the products of the Ganges [valley], the yield of the *Kāvēri*, foodstuffs from Ceylon, and goods from *Kāḷagam (Kāḷagattu ākkamum)*, all these materials, precious and bulky alike, were heaped together in the broad streets . . .[1]

In the *Divākaraṃ*, the earliest extant lexicon in the Tamil language, *Kāḷagam* is explained as a synonym for *Kaḍāram*. Coedès, who first drew attention to this gloss, was sceptical of the value of the identification.[2] *Kaḍāram*, he pointed out, meant 'a dark brown colour verging on black', while *Kāḷagam* meant 'black', and it was perhaps no more than this synonymy which had induced the commentator to merge the two names into one place. To this Nilakanta Sastri replied that the employment of synonyms in this fashion was a well established practice in India and that *Kāḷagam* 'must mean Kaḍāram or nothing'.[3] Yet, despite the massive authority of Nilakanta Sastri in all matters relating to South India, one cannot but suspect that there is some substance in Coedès's objection. This suspicion is strengthened when we find a gloss on the *Śilappadikāram* mentioning both *Kiḍāravan* aloeswood and silk from *Kāḷagam*. However, no one can disagree with Nilakanta Sastri's conclusion that the word *Kāḷagam* stands for the name of a place having trade relations with Kaveripaṭṭinam.[4]

Cōḷa inscriptions of a later date leave no doubt that the *Kaḍāram* or *Kiḍāram* of these Tamil works was the *Kaṭāhanāgara* famed for its social attractions in the Sanskrit drama *Kaumudīmahotsava*,[5] dating probably from the seventh or eighth century. The name *Kaṭāha* also appears in the *Vāmana* and *Garuḍa Purāṇas* in place of the *Saumya* or *Gāndharva* which the other *Purāṇas* include

[1] From Nilakanta Sastri's translation, *The Cōḷas*, vol. i, pp. 99–100.
[2] *BEFEO*, vol. xviii (1918), p. 20.
[3] *JGIS*, vol. v, No. 1 (1938), pp. 128–9.
[4] *JGIS*, vol. v, pp. 128–9.
[5] Act V.

among the nine divisions of *Jambudvīpa*. Most probably *Kaṭāha*, with its associations of gay life, was substituted at a late date as a name evoking more colourful associations than did *Saumya*. The *Agnipurāṇa* also mentions a territory known as *Anda-Kaṭāha*, with one of its bounds delimited by a peak. It is tempting to see here a reference to Kĕdah Peak (Gunong Jĕrai) but the whole passage is so vague that such identifications can never be more than speculative.

There are two further references to *Kaṭāha* in a Prākrit work, the *Samarāiccakahā* written by Haribhadra Sūri about the middle of the eighth century. Both tales relate how voyages were made from *Tāmraliptī* to [*Mahā-*] *Kaṭāha-dvīpa*.[1] Neither are references to *Kaṭāha* lacking in the kathā literature of the eighth to eleventh centuries, and to the stories from the *Kathāsaritsāgara* mentioned on page 179 above may be added the tale of the foolish merchant.[2] Like the *Kaumudīmahotsava*, the *Kathāsaritsāgara* bears witness to the elegance of life in *Kaṭāha*, which it describes with extravagant but engaging hyperbole as 'the seat of all felicities'. Finally, in the *Bṛhatkathā-Mañjari* of the poet Kṣemendra, the story of the virtuous lady Devasmitā refers to *Kaṭakṣadvīpa*, no doubt the *Kaṭāhadvīpa* of other works.[3]

ARAB EVIDENCE

The Arab evidence, late and not very informative, consists solely of the fact noted by the Master Navigator Sulaimān al-Mahrī that Keda was on the same latitude as Kĕlantan, that is 8 *iṣba'* of the Guardians or 1 *iṣba'* of the Pole Star (page 240 above).

* * * *

Recorded settlement in southern Kĕdah thus stems from the fifth or sixth century A.D. After a period of presumed independence during the sixth and seventh centuries, the settlement attained its apogee as the Peninsular node of the *Śrī Vijayan* thalassocracy. At this time it was the chief power on the Peninsula, linked by the persuasive bonds of trade not only with Sumatra and

[1] *Samarāiccakahā* (ed. Jacobi), pp. 195–206 and 585.
[2] *Taraṅga* 60, 2–6.
[3] Agrawala, *JGIS*, vol. xi (1944), p. 97.

the rest of the archipelago but also with many parts of India. But by the later eleventh century it seems that the zenith of Kědah's prosperity had passed. Although trade with the countries of the Indian Ocean still continued and Chinese porcelain was imported as late as Yüan and even Ming times, no longer could the wealth of Kědah inspire Tamil poets and Sanskrit dramatists to fulsome eulogies. Precisely when this decline set in it is difficult to say but it may well date from the great raid of Rājēndra I, when Kědah, as one of the twin foci of the empire, was selected as a major objective. *Śrī Vijaya* apparently recovered from this reverse after a few years but Kědah seems never to have recaptured its lost prestige. Then in about 1068, in an effort to secede from the empire, Kědah invoked the aid of the Cōḷa king, but with what result is uncertain. Henceforth the kingdom sinks into obscurity. Today the very existence of this city-state is remembered by the farmers around the Měrbok estuary only as the domain of the tusked and anthropophagous Raja Bersiong, the least reputable member of Kědah's only known dynasty.

PART VI

The Isthmian Age

A SUMMARY OF THE POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE MALAY PENINSULA BEFORE A.D. 1400

CHAPTER XIX

THE ISTHMIAN AGE

(1) TO THE DISSOLUTION OF THE FUNANESE EMPIRE, c.A.D.550

THE earliest references to the Malay Peninsula occur in connexion with the great maritime trade-route stretching from the Red Sea to South China. Possibly this would be better described as a series of trade-routes, for during this period no one group of merchants operated throughout its length and no one category of merchandise travelled from end to end. Nevertheless, the commodities in movement along this route had one characteristic in common—they were all luxury articles. The western sectors, described in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, are better documented than the eastern, for which we must rely on vaguely worded Indian sources and the *Annals of the Former Han*. Until the end of the first century B.C. the trade of the Arabian Sea was a virtual Arab monopoly, but during that period Greek and Egyptian mariners, together with those of the Hellenized Levant, discovered the technique of monsoon sailing. Henceforth they claimed a share of the cargoes of spices (particularly pepper), balms, ebony, sandalwood, gems and pearls which brought rich rewards when sold in the Mediterranean cities, especially Rome. But there is no reason whatever to believe that these Mediterranean or Egyptian merchants ever penetrated beyond their Cape *Comaria*, the southernmost point of India. Even the author of the *Periplus*, clearly a man of wide practical experience, had not voyaged much beyond *Nelkynda*. Beyond that point the commerce of the Bay of

Bengal was in the hands of Indian merchants who exchanged beads and amulets for gold, ivory, camphor, aloeswood, rhinoceros horn and bezoars. Some voyaged yet further eastwards to Insulind but other seafarers, known collectively to the Chinese as 'barbarians', seem to have controlled the carrying trade of Malayan waters and the South China Sea. Nor were their activities wholly confined to these seas for there are records of these Malaysians reaching even to *Bharukaccha* on the north-west coast of India. Chinese sources give no hint of their identities but we may infer that they were the folk later known as the *K'un-lun*, really a succession of peoples ranging from Malays around the coasts of the Peninsula to Chams along the shores of Indo-China. In the Gulf of Tong-king and on the South China coast Yüeh sailors were almost certainly the carriers of both merchandise and merchants. From the ports of South-West China goods were carried overland to the capital at Lo-yang.

The entirely inadequate records at our disposal imply that there was a radical difference between the sailing technique practised over the western two-thirds of this trade-route and that in the China Sea. In the Arabian Sea both Arab and 'Roman' (actually Graeco-Egyptian) ships sailed directly from *Cane* to *Bharukaccha* or from *Dioscoridis* Island (Socotra) to *Muchiri*, *Nelkynda* and other ports of the *Damirica* (Fig. 45). From Ceylon, *Sopatma*, *Poduke*, *Kamara* and *Alosygni* large vessels, known to the West as *kolandiophonta*, sailed to *Chryse* and *Suvarṇadvīpa*. Those aiming for a landfall in the Strait of Malacca found the Coconut Land (Nicobar Islands) a convenient revictualling station en route.

Thus from Arabia to the Malay Peninsula navigational technique had reached a stage in which commerce depended on the half-yearly rhythm of the wind seasons, but in the China Sea, where maritime progress was less advanced, coastal sailing seems to have persisted. Setting sail from the Lui-chou Peninsula, the agents of the Imperial Court coasted the shores of Indo-China as far as the estuary of the Mekong. Here the route divided. North-westwards a trail crossed overland to the Bay of Bengal, thus shortening the journey to India by some four months, while the longer sea-route coasted the Malay Peninsula. The *Ch'ien Han Shu* makes it clear that Chinese trade with the countries of the South Seas at this time was restricted to luxury goods, meaning in this instance glass, rare stones, exotic curiosities of all kinds which appealed to the

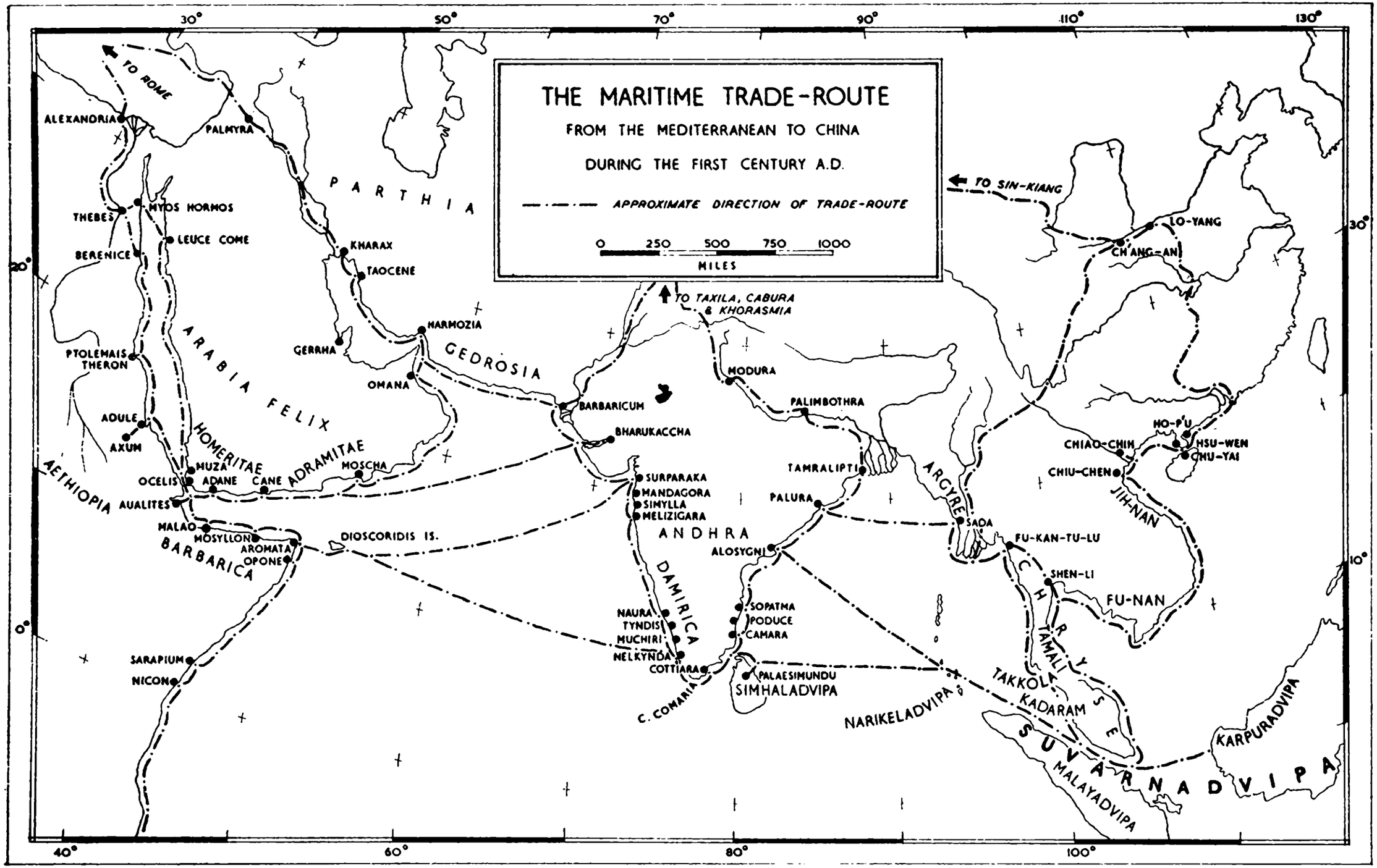

Fig. 45. The chief ports on the maritime trade-route from the Mediterranean to China during Han times. Based mainly on information contained in the Periplus Maris Erythraei, *early Indian literature and the* Ch'ien Han Shu, *chap. 28.*

members of the Court, and especially pearls. These last were most probably from the grounds off Ceylon which are mentioned in the *Periplus*. In exchange the Chinese envoys bartered gold and silks.

To Indians of the first century the countries of South-East Asia were known collectively as *Suvarṇadvīpa* or the Land of Gold, but as trading ventures became more frequent and relative locations assumed a clearer perspective, so regional place-names began to appear in Indian literature. There was a tendency to restrict the name *Suvarṇadvīpa* or *Suvarṇabhūmi* to Sumatra, though at least part of that island was also called *Malayadvīpa*. *Karpūradvīpa* or Camphor-Land was most probably applied to western Borneo. On the Malay Peninsula we hear of *Tamali* (possibly *Tāmbraliṅga*) and *Takkola*, together with Kĕdah in its Tamil form *Kaḍāram* and possibly also as Sanskrit *Kaṭāha*. A century later we hear of organized communities deserving the appellation of state in three separate areas: in the valley of the lower Mekong, on the narrow coastal plain of Quangnam province in modern Vietnam, and on the isthmian portion of the Malay Peninsula. Yet despite this incipient realization of regional individuality which developed contemporaneously with the permeation of Indian influence through the peninsulas and islands of South-East Asia, the acceptance of a common culture, allied with a community of economic interests reflected in such general toponyms as *Suvarṇadvīpa*, *Dvīpāntara* and *K'un-lun*, was destined inevitably to induce the birth of some form of imperial grouping. This happened under the aegis of the kings of *Fu-nan* (Fig. 46).

When it first entered the field of history this state centred on the lower Mekong, with its capital, *Vyādhapura*, adjacent to the hill Ba Phnom and a federation of tribes, or 'cities' as they were called, extending along that river from the delta—more restricted than at present—to the mouth of the Tonle Sap. In a world of coastwise trade this was a propitious location of which the Funanese took full advantage so that by the end of the second century the lower Mekong valley was occupied by a wealthy unified state under an autocratic ruler. When, early in the third century, Fan-shih-man consolidated the metropolitan territory of *Fu-nan*, the accident of geography pointed uncompromisingly to his next task. As the commerce of peninsular South-East Asia developed one region stood out as of greater strategic significance in the control of trade than even the Mekong delta, namely the isthmian tract of the

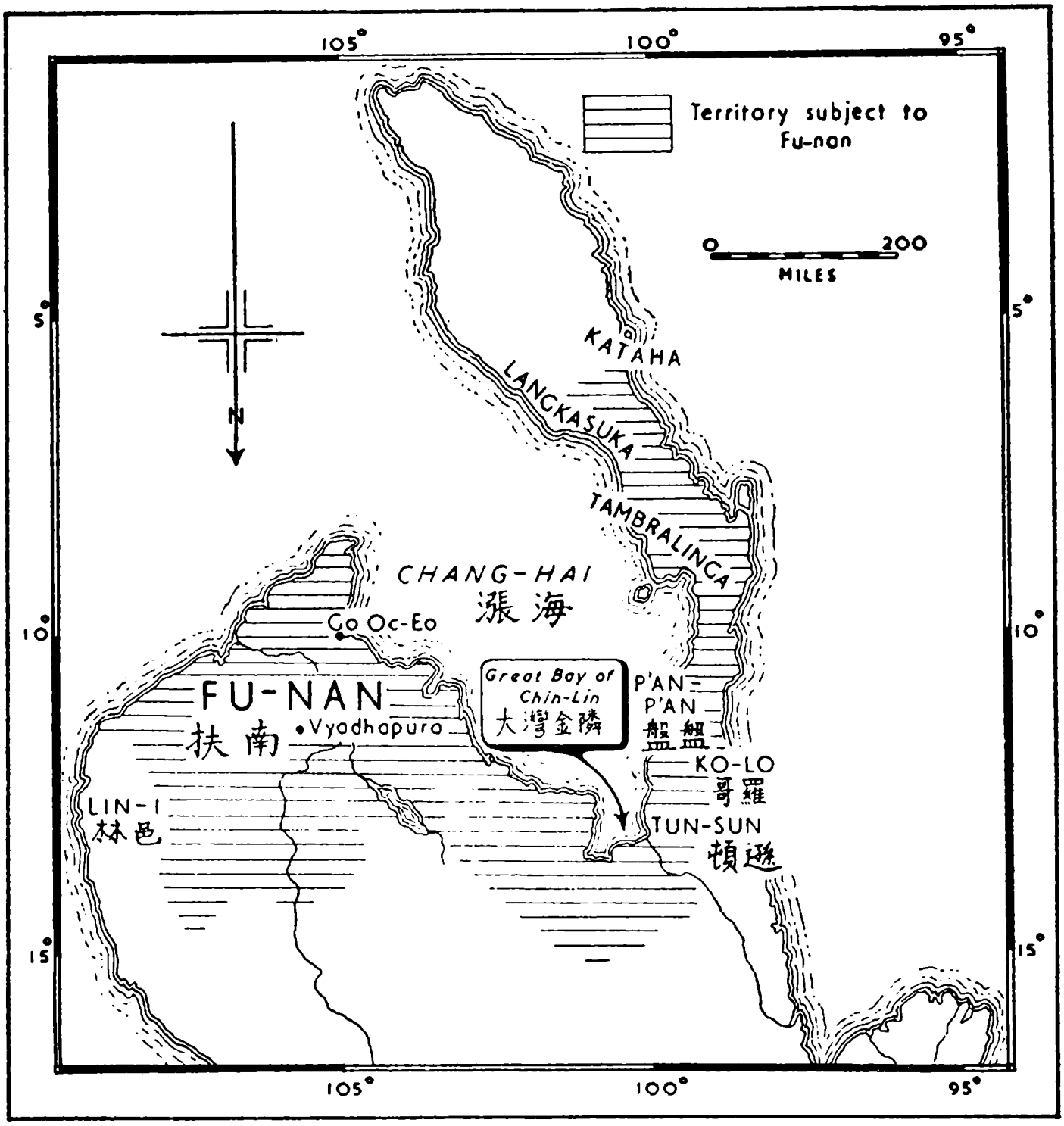

Fig. 46. Fu-nan and the Malay Peninsula, c. A.D. 350. Ko-lo *is included on the authority of the* T'ung Tien *(p. 56 above).*

Malay Peninsula. Despite *Fu-nan's* traditional role as a continental power, Fan-shih-man secured control of the isthmus by means of a maritime campaign which incorporated a dozen or so peninsular states in his empire. The *Liang Annals*, whence this information is abstracted, name only three of these units, of which the most important seems to have been *Tun-sun*. This was most probably a Mōn kingdom with its capital in the vicinity of P'ong-Tük or P'ra-Pathom, but with its territory extending from sea to sea. The other two places named in the list of Fan-shih-man's victories are [*Ch'ü-*]*tu-k'un*, unidentified but with characteristics similar to those of *Tun-sun*, and *Chü-li*, also a trans-isthmian state through

which travellers passed on their way from China to India. The only other place-names deriving from contemporary records—though very much at second-hand—are the *Pan-tou* and *Pi-sung* which the *T'ai-p'ing Yü Lan* includes in a list of peninsular states. However, it is not unreasonable to suppose that kingdoms which are mentioned in both earlier and later sources persisted, although perhaps temporarily overshadowed by their neighbours, through the second, third and fourth centuries and were included anonymously among the Funanese conquests. Such, for example, were (possibly) *Tāmbraliṅga*, *Takkola* and *Kaṭāha* of early Indian literature. Then there are two states which, although they reached the zenith of their development in later centuries, were certainly in existence at the time of the Funanese hegemony. From the first of these, *P'an-p'an*, the second Kauṇḍiṇya planned his usurpation of the throne of *Fu-nan* in the second half of the fourth century. The number of embassies that *P'an-p'an* dispatched to the Chinese court in her own right between 424 and 464 would seem to indicate that, despite the overshadowing might of *Fu-nan* in the north-east, the country was at least fairly prosperous during this period. Very different was the history of *Langkasuka*. Founded early in the second century A.D., this state fell on evil days which lasted until the second half of the fifth century and there can be little doubt but that this period of eclipse was occasioned by the expansion of *Fu-nan*. Finally, if we accept the testimony of the T'ang annals, *Ko-lo*, in the vicinity of Mergui, was already in existence by the end of the second century A.D. Thus we have resurrected some ten political entities which occupied the isthmus during the overlordship of *Fu-nan*. The Chinese rendered these as *kuo* 國, a character which usually denotes the concept of kingdom, nation, state or country. As a description of *Tun-sun* or *Langkasuka* or *P'an-p'an* this was probably accurate enough, but it is hard to believe that some of the other names refer to anything more than local tribal groupings. And we can be fairly certain that each of these was based on a river valley with its territory more or less bounded by the surrounding watersheds. How many more of these political units there were on the Peninsula we do not know, but Fan-shih-man conquered more than ten. The fact that Tun-sun was itself partitioned among five kings implies that some higher form of political organization than that of simple tribal society was

already developing in parts of the Peninsula during the mid-third century.

The Chinese accounts of the economic life of these so-called kingdoms is of a very unsatisfactory nature. In view of our ignorance of conditions in South-East Asia at this time, the statement that the agricultural practices of these countries were similar to those of *Chin-lin* carries no special significance, but it does seem that the Chinese regarded the whole region as a source of perfumes. The commercial foundations of these countries are no better described, though it is possible to draw certain inferences from the meagre evidence at our disposal. In the first place settlements of importance seem to have been confined to the isthmus and doubtless owed their inception to the attraction of trans-peninsular routes which obviated the need for traders and others to round the Peninsula. We can surmise that *Tun-sun*, for example, owed its undoubted prosperity to its situation at the eastern end of one of the most important of these routes, which allowed it to extend its trade relations to places as far distant as Parthia and Tong-king. It has often been stated that the sea-route was used until the end of the fourth century A.D. However that may be, it is evident that the existence of *Tun-sun* on the isthmus is some guarantee that the trans-peninsular route was known and used before the fourth century. In Kědah, too, a Buddhist community was trading with India during the fifth century for here the merchant-captain Buddhagupta set up his commemorative tablet.

The ethnological evidence relating to these early states on the Malay Peninsula, although inadequate, is a little fuller than is the locational and economic material. The mass of the population—the folk who practised bird- and fire-burial, who distilled the excellent wine, gathered the flowers and prepared the perfumes—was presumably composed of Proto-Malays. But several of these groups were already much influenced by a culturally more advanced people, for there is no doubt that we have in the quotations from the *Fu-nan Chi* some of the earliest literary references to the Indianization of South-East Asia (page 115 above). A community of brahmans was established in *Tun-sun* and possibly a colony of Indian traders, while there is also an obscure notice of Buddhist influence. Moreover, some of the Indians were marrying local women and settling in the country. The burial customs, too, were often adaptations of Indian practices. That this process of cultural

transference was taking place has long been inferred but this is the only extant contemporary description. How far a similar process was at work in other parts of the Peninsula we have no means of knowing, for the Chinese annalists are silent on this point. But the fact that the second Kauṇḍiṇya chose to conduct his campaign against the throne of *Fu-nan* from the isthmian state of *P'an-p'an* implies that the process of Indianization was already far advanced in that country in the late fourth century. Farther south the kingdom of *Langkasuka* owed its resurgence to the leadership of a ruler trained in one of the royal courts of India.

From the preceding discussion it is clear that the first five hundred years of this era saw the establishment of a dozen or so petty kingdoms on the isthmian part of the Malay Peninsula. Deriving the culture of their rulers from India and their prosperity from their location on trans-peninsular trade routes, four or five of these kingdoms grew wealthy and of sufficient importance to merit inclusion in Chinese dynastic histories. In the middle of the third century nearly all were incorporated in the Funanese empire—or possibly federation is a more appropriate term, for at least one of these states sent tribute in its own right to the Chinese court. In any case, even during this period of Funanese supremacy this northern part of the Peninsula formed by no means the least important part of the empire.

(2) THE CHEN-LA INTERLUDE, c.A.D.550–800

On the dissolution of the Funanese empire, its successor, *Chen-la*, possibly because of its continental origin, failed to consolidate its supremacy over the Malay Peninsula, whereupon the former dependencies in that region hastened to establish their autonomy by dispatching embassies to the Imperial Court of China. In the *Sui-shu* we read that during the period 605–16 more than ten kingdoms from the southern frontiers brought tribute, 'but the records of many of these events have been lost and are no longer known. At present there are notices of only four kingdoms'. Judging by the records still extant it is probable that the Sui annalist was here referring to *P'an-p'an*, *Ch'ih-t'u*, *Tan-tan* and *Ko-lo*. The isthmian state of *P'an-p'an* sent its first recorded tribute mission to China at some time between 424 and 453 and then in the second half of the same century played an important role in the transmission of Indian culture to *Fu-nan*. *Ch'ih-t'u*

was a kingdom, probably in the vicinity of modern Kělantan (Fig. 47), which was honoured with an embassy from the Imperial Court at the beginning of the seventh century. *Tan-tan*, situated further to the south, perhaps in the Trĕngganu district, sent its first embassy to China in 530, while the *T'ung Tien* states that

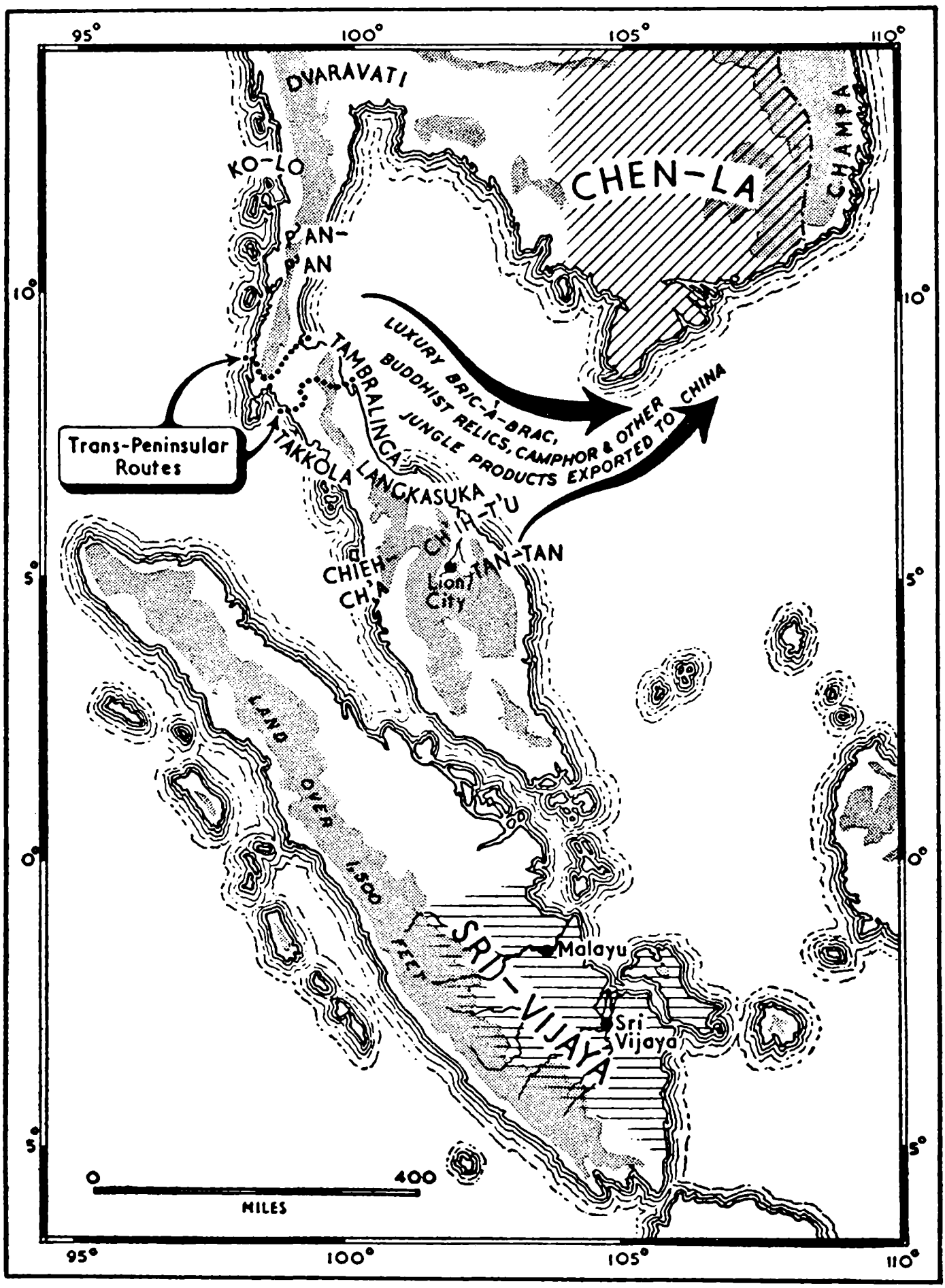

Fig. 47. The Malay Peninsula and its neighbours c. A.D. 675. For sailing routes in Malayan waters at this time see Fig. 11.

Ko-lo, in the vicinity of Mergui, was discovered in Han times. If that is indeed the truth, no records anterior to those of the T'ang period have been preserved. Each of these four states, except *Ch'ih-t'u*, rates a description in the T'ang annals and is better discussed under the *Śrī Vijayan* period, but *Ch'ih-t'u*, although described in detail in the *Sui-shu*, is accorded only cursory mention in the T'ang histories. It is to be concluded, therefore, that this state attained the apogee of its development during the sixth and early seventh centuries, a conclusion endorsed by the absence of any record of tribute missions after 610. The capital of *Ch'ih-t'u*, the Lion City, which was some considerable distance inland, possibly on the Kělantan River, was the seat of a court every detail of whose complicated ritual manifested its Indian origin. Ch'ang-chün and his entourage went—to borrow a phrase which Professor Duyvendak applied to the Ming voyagers—a-shopping for the Imperial court, so that the list of their purchases is confined to luxury bric-à-brac such as gold, ornamental crowns, camphor and other unspecified local products.

In addition to these four states, two others feature in the reminiscences of Buddhist pilgrims as stages on the sea-route to India. *Langkasuka* (in the form *Lang-chia-shu*), which had emerged from nearly three centuries of obscurity, was now the main port of call on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula for those who elected to voyage coastwise (page 44 above). Presumably it was still strongly Buddhist for the pilgrims were welcomed with a courtesy approaching reverence. On the west coast Kědah *(Chieh-ch'a)* was the port where pilgrims awaited the onset of the monsoon to carry them over the Bay of Bengal. Vessels from places as far distant as Ceylon, Negapatam and *Tāmraliptī* anchored in the Měrbok estuary alongside those from *Śrī Vijaya* and *Malayu*, and I-ching's account bespeaks a considerable degree of regularity in the sailings. The pilgrim would know, for example, that he could rely on a *Śrī Vijayan* ship arriving in early March and returning to the south before the end of the north-east monsoon.

The town where the pilgrims foregathered during their enforced sojourn was situated beside the Měrbok estuary. Pallava influence was strong and a series of Śaivite temples followed the course of the River Bujang. Constructed, like the other important buildings of the town, on stone bases, these shrines had superstructures of wood or other perishable material. The rest of the town was wholly

of atap. Smaller settlements were sited in the valley of the Měrbok Kěchil and to the south of the Muda River, while nearly 4,000 ft. above, a group of shrines rose from the sacred summit of Gunong Jěrai.

Further north there was an important trade-route leading from Takuapa across the isthmus by way of Wieng Sra to *Tāmbraliṅga*, which, judging by its omission from contemporary Chinese records, was incorporated in the territories of *P'an-p'an*. In the far north *Tun-sun* had been superseded by *Dvāravatī*, while *Ch'ü-tu-k'un* and *Chü-li* had probably been absorbed by one or other of the states mentioned above. The presence of Pallava immigrants at Nakawn Sritamarat may be read as evidence for the use of the Trang River valley as a trans-peninsular routeway.

For the states of the Malay Peninsula the two and a half centuries during which *Chen-la* held authority were a period of autonomy. Of the kingdoms which enter history at this time only *Ch'ih-t'u*, the Red-Earth Land, seems to have declined before A.D. 800. On the west coast the town at the foot of Kědah Peak flourished as the port of embarkation for India. Now, for the first time on record, the Chinese turned their attention specifically to the Peninsula as a source of 'the strange and the precious',[1] mainly sacred Buddhist relics and emblems for use in the temples that had sprung up throughout China, particularly during and after the reign of Liang Wu-ti (502–49). Between 527 and 536, for example, *P'an-p'an* and *Tan-tan* supplied Buddhist relics, leaves of the Bo tree, ivory images, miniature painted stūpas and perfumes.

(3) THE ŚRĪ VIJAYAN PERIOD, A.D. 800–1300

(a) to A.D. 1000

When in the year 802 Jayavarman II founded the Khmer kingdom of *Kambujadesa* in succession to that of *Chen-la*, the kingdom of *Śrī Vijaya* had for more than a century been recognized as the leading power in the Archipelago. Thus at the beginning of the ninth century a potentially powerful state based on the plains of the middle Mekong was matched by an established power among the islands of the south, and a contemporary observer would have found difficulty in predicting the future political allegiance of the Malay Peninsula. As events turned out more than two-thirds of

[1] The phrase used in the *Sui-shu*, chap. 82, f. 1 verso.

the Peninsula passed under the sway—nominally, at least—of *Śrī Vijaya.*

Kambujadesa comprised essentially two distinct types of terrain. To the south was the low-lying country of the Tonle Sap plains and of the lower Mekong, together with its delta. To the north was the higher ground of Korat and the westernmost spurs of the Annamite uplands, rising in the far north to the mountain flanks of *Nan-chao.* With its potentiality for food production, particularly in the southern regions, this environment afforded a stronger agricultural base for the erection of a powerful state than did the hinterland of Palembang. A simple relief map of central and southern Sumatra is apt to induce an erroneous impression of fertility for at least a third of the eastern lowlands are forested swamp which defies even modern technological control. Offshore a chain of flat marshy islands are building seawards by the slow accretion of marine sediments, while westwards rise the foothills of the Barisan Range. At the inner edge of the swamp belt, at a point where a line of low hills runs out towards the Musi River, was the city of *Śrī Vijaya.* Authors have not infrequently attributed the subsequent emergence of *Śrī Vijaya* as an imperial power to some dynamism inherent in the location of the capital. If there is any validity in this argument it is at best an over-simplification. Situated some seventy-five miles up the winding Palembang River and separated from the sea by leagues of marshland, at least three or four days' sailing from Malacca Strait and almost as far from that of Sunda, the original settlement of *Śrī Vijaya* was thus sundered from the great trade-routes of South-East Asia. So long as she was only one among a number of Sumatran states her local site possessed no particular advantages. Only after she had established herself as a South-East Asian power could she reap the full fruits of her nodality in the *Nan-Hai,* and this she had achieved by the last quarter of the seventh century, when her territory extended over the southern half of Sumatra, the island of Bangka and possibly part of western Java. At this time we hear more of the intellectual eminence of the capital than of its commercial activities—because, of course, our informant is a religious scholar—but such a development could only have occurred in a milieu of economic prosperity. That *Śrī Vijaya* was in direct communication with places as far distant as Canton and *Tāmraliptī* is attested by I-Ching.

But such commercial success as *Śrī Vijaya* of the late seventh century must have enjoyed generates its own dynamic. In those early days of ship construction the natural and cultural requirements for the development of an emporium hardly exceeded the possession of a sheltered haven, a productive hinterland and preferably a population in some measure civilized, which in this context meant Indianized. Such circumstances being not uncommon in South-East Asia, competition developed at an early stage and prosperity became synonymous with monopoly. One region in particular was crucial in any attempt to control the commerce of these areas, namely the isthmian sector of the Malay Peninsula, including the portages between the western and eastern seas and constituting the seat of civilization on the Peninsula. And this is precisely the locality in which we find the earliest record of *Śrī Vijayan* suzerainty beyond the Malacca Strait. The Ligor stele of 775 has been the subject of protracted controversy but none of the disputants has denied that it commemorates the establishment of *Śrī Vijaya* on the isthmus, together with the introduction of Mahāyāna Buddhism into that region.[1] In Perak, *Śrī Vijayan* influence may be attested by a statuette of Lokeśvara dredged up at Bidor.[2]

On the Peninsula this was the age of the city-state. From the Mekong in the north to the Měrbok in the south every coastal plain had its miniature kingdom based on Indian conceptions of royalty. At a focal point within the realm was situated the city, palisaded or walled according to the resources of the terrain or the wealth of the community, and—as contemporary records make very clear—dependent on trade for its economic well-being. Usually it is implied that the capital of the state was also a port, but there is one exception, the Lion City of *Ch'ih-t'u*, which was a month's journey inland. The smaller of these settlements can still

[1] The stele which was found at the Wat Sema-muang, has two faces, both bearing inscriptions, and the controversy has concerned the relation between them. The evidence used here is all on one face so that the conclusion is not in doubt. For discussions of these inscriptions see Coedès, *BEFEO*, vol. xviii (1918), pp. 29–31. *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, tome ii, no. 23, pp. 35–9 and *JGIS*, vol. i (1934), pp. 64–8; Chatterji, *India and Java*, vol. ii, pp. 40–4; Chhabra, *JASB, Letters*, vol. i (1935), pp. 20–7; Nilakanta Sastri, *BEFEO*, vol. xl (1940), pp. 252–4; and F. D. K. Bosch, *TBG*, deel lxxxi, aflevering 1 (1941), pp. 26–38.

[2] *Annual bibliography of Indian archæology*, vol. 12 (1937), plate 12 and Wales, *JMBRAS*, vol. xviii, pt. 1 (1940), pp. 51–2.

have been little more than villages but others such as *Kalāh*, *Langkasuka* and *Kědah* had long since assumed the functions of true cities, with commercial relations extending far beyond the Peninsula. Populations of 100,000, such as is implied for example, by the record of 20,000 families in *Tan-tan*, are certainly exaggerations, but the organization of administrative sub-divisions and, in one instance, the collection of a tax, testify to the sizeable extent of the territorial bases of some of these city states.

In the north the narrowest section of the Peninsula constituted the territory of *P'an-p'an*, the particular resort of adventurers from India in search of fortune. The theocratic element is strong in all these city-states, but is especially prominent in the account of *P'an-p'an*. Southwards where the Peninsula broadens it is possible to distinguish successions of states centred on either the east or west coast, though it is not unlikely that in the flux of political development one or another kingdom occasionally extended its territory to the opposite shore of the Peninsula. In the east, in order from north to south, were *Langkasuka* in the vicinity of modern Patani, the now unimportant Red-Earth Kingdom, and *Tan-tan* a short distance further south, possibly in the neighbourhood of Trĕngganu. The ancient state of *Tāmbraliṅga* does not appear in contemporary records but, as it re-appears in the eleventh century, the most reasonable explanation is to suppose that it was temporarily incorporated in either *P'an-p'an* or *Langkasuka*. The Ligor inscription certainly testifies to the interest of *Śrī Vijaya* in this region.

The east-coast kingdoms are known only from Chinese records, but our information about those of the west coast is supplemented by the accounts of Arab topographers and by the results of archæological excavations. In the Mergui district was the cosmopolitan city and port of *Kalāh*, one of the main Arab emporia and watering-places on the sea-route to the East. So far no information has come to light to show whether the Tamil colony at Takuapa was politically independent or formed part of either *Kalāh* or *P'an-p'an*,[1] but whatever its status it clearly controlled the trans-peninsular route to the settlements around the Bay of Bandon. Some distance to the southward was the mart of *Takkola* mentioned in both

[1] I am not disposed to accept Professor Nilakanta Sastri's suggestion that the inscription is evidence of Pallava political power on the isthmus (p. 197 above).

earlier and later records but now presumably eclipsed by *Kalāh* to the north or Kědah to the south. During this period the city beside the Měrbok established itself as one of the chief emporia of the peninsula, while the early settlement beside the Muda River now took on a new lease of life. At the same time both again came under Mahāyānist influence. Yet further south some half-dozen or so Indonesian pile-built villages clustered on the Matang coast, while casual finds of Mahāyāna bronzes in the Kinta valley betoken Indian influence in that area.

Southwards of this point the Peninsula was still the home of the aborigine. At the southern extremity *Lo-yüeh* seems to have been a settlement possibly not dissimilar to that at Kuala Sělinsing, while Pahang was a haunt of Orang Laut. *Māïṭ* may or may not have been situated on the Peninsula but was in any case of small importance commercially. Other villages there must have been at sheltered bay-heads around the coast and at kualas in the interior, but apart from the unidentifiable Ptolemaic inland 'towns', their names have not been recorded.

During this period the character of the trade between China and the city-states of the Peninsula had undergone a change. Sacred objects, if they featured in tribute at all, were in very small quantity. Jungle products were the staple exports, mainly aromatics such as aloeswood and camphor, which are listed for *Langkasuka,* and sandalwood and sapanwood which are listed for *Tan-tan,* together with drugs, precious metals and jewels and more mundane articles such as cotton fabrics and betel-nuts. There is no reason to suppose that Chinese imports from the other east-coast states were radically different, while there is no account extant of the specific tribute 'gifts' from the west-coast kingdoms. In default of any precise record of Chinese 'presents' sent in return we must assume that the staple item was that dispatched to other South-East Asian countries, namely silk. In any case, even at its peak development, this trade was limited in volume and variety, curbed by the nature of the Chinese economy on the one hand,[1] and on the other by the lack in the South Seas of anything other than the royal courts which might be called consumer markets. Neither could the city-states

[1] There is a summary of the nature of the Chinese economy and of its effects on commerce with the South Seas in Wang Gungwu, *The Nanhai trade*, pp. 113–7.

of the South Seas offer staple products which might have created their own demand in China. Their exports were to the Chinese essentially exotic luxuries.

Of the west-coast kingdoms, only for *Kalāh* is there a record of exports, and then only of those which featured in Arab trade. Pre-eminent was tin, followed by aromatics (aloeswood, sandalwood, brazilwood and high quality camphor), spices, ivory and ebony, while from the mountains of the interior of the Peninsula came gold. Several accounts also mention extensive groves of bamboo. There is, too, the first mention of any form of manufacture on the Peninsula, the forging of the *Kalāh* swords, described by Abū Dulaf as 'the true Indian swords'. At Kuala Sělinsing on the Matang coast there was a flourishing trade in beads which brought together specimens from places as far distant as Zimbabwe, Zanzibar, Borneo, the Philippines and Korea, while fragments of Arab lamps and T'ang pottery attest the extent of Kědah's trade relations.

Chia-Tan's itinerary, with its uncertainties and ambiguities, is not susceptible of precise plotting but the general impression is that the sea-route to the West followed substantially the direction taken by the Buddhist pilgrims of the seventh century.[1] From South China to *Śrī Vijaya* or *Ho-ling* there was a choice of ocean or coastal sailing. Thence the route passed through the Strait of Malacca, inclining, at least in its later stages, towards the Sumatran shore and thence course was set for the Nicobar Islands. Arab merchant-men bound for the China Seas, on the other hand, made their landfall on the Malayan coast in the vicinity of Puket Island, before coasting southwards to the Straits. So powerful was the continuity of maritime tradition that some five to six hundred years later Arabs and Chinese were still following these different routes across the Indian Ocean. In the South China Sea Tioman was an important landmark and watering-place, whence Arab seamen set course north-eastwards for *Campā* and Cambodia, but the island was apparently unnoticed in Chinese maritime records.

(b) To A.D. 1300

The effect of the *Śrī Vijayan* hegemony on the states of the isthmus can only be inferred for there are no records available, but

[1] Chap. IV.

there can be little doubt that they benefited from the quickening of commercial activity consequent upon the expansion of the Śailendran empire. By the early eleventh century this comprised the city-states of the whole of the east Sumatran littoral and of the isthmian region of the Malay Peninsula, together with the small trading ports around the rest of the Malayan coast, the kingdom of Sunda in western Java and the islands of the intervening seas. The status of the West Sumatran coast and of western Borneo is uncertain. The Śailendran thalassocracy was in fact made up of a confederation of trading ports on the fringe of the primeval forest. Population was highly concentrated along the lower courses of rivers, particularly at the estuaries, and settlements were separated by extensive areas virtually uninhabited. Communication was by way of the sea and, except on the isthmus, land routes were almost non-existent, a circumstance which pointed to ensuing developments in the political evolution of the empire. As the units of the thalassocracy were concerned more with the interconnecting sea than with the interiors beyond their own immediate hinterlands, so the extension of political authority from the land to the sea was a natural development. By the twelfth century *Śrī Vijaya* was claiming exclusive control over her seas as part of the territory of her realm. Chao Ju-kua, writing in 1225 but seemingly incorporating information from the previous century, remarks that, 'If some foreign ship passing this place should not enter here, an armed party would certainly come out and kill [the sailors] to the last man.' The seas over which the Mahārāja thus exerted a monopoly of authority and jurisdiction were the Malacca Strait at least as far northwards as Puket Island, Singapore Strait, the divers passages through the Riau and Lingga Archipelagoes, and the Straits of Bangka, Gasper and Sunda. Probably he also claimed sovereignty over the Sea of *Kalāh-bār* and parts of the South China and Java Seas, though here his suzerainty could have been little more than nominal (Fig. 48). This organization as a sea-state allowed the Śailendras to govern a fairly extensive area of difficult terrain without excessive decentralization in an era when land communication was at a minimum, but it did render the individual city-states susceptible to attack one at a time by any power resentful of *Śrī Vijaya's* closure of the seas, a weakness which was ably exploited by Rājēndra I in the early eleventh century (Chapter XIII).

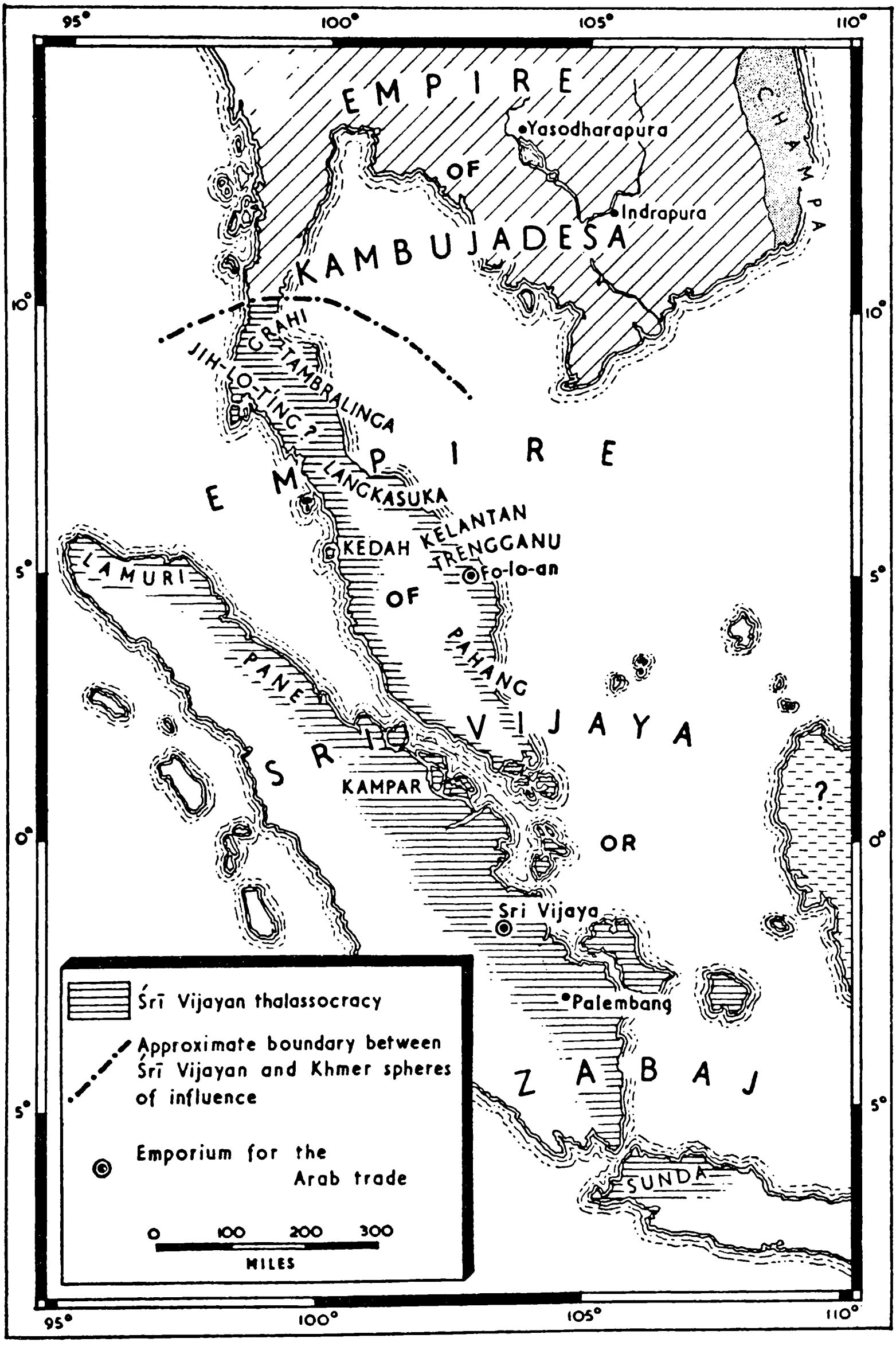

Fig. 48. The Śrī Vijayan *thalassocracy, c. A.D. 1150.*

During this period there were two nodes in the polity of *Śrī Vijaya* or *Zābaj* as it was known to the Arabs. To the south of the Strait of Malacca was the old city of *Śrī Vijaya* at modern Palembang; to the north of the Strait was Kědah. Although it is this Peninsular node which is of interest in the present context, it can only be studied adequately in its role as one of the two foci of the empire. That its trading relations were still widespread is attested by the Arab glassware and Sung porcelain which have come to light in archæological excavations. In the early years of the eleventh century Kědah reached the apogee of its prosperity. In Rājēndra's praśasti it features as a major objective and, although *Śrī Vijaya* herself recovered from the Cōḷa raid, Kědah seems never to have regained her former prestige. By 1225 the state was not considered important enough to merit more than a bare, incidental mention in Chao Ju-kua's economic geography of the South Seas.

The position as chief emporium of the Peninsula had by this time been usurped by the elusive *Fo-lo-an*, possibly Kuala Bĕrang in Trĕngganu, which shared the Arab trade with *Śrī Vijaya*. It is to be remarked, however, that Chao Ju-kua's description preserves the old dual character of the thalassocracy with a Sumatran and a Peninsular entrepôt. The northern limit of *Śrī Vijayan* control was reached somewhere in the neighbourhood of C'ump'on where the territory of C'aiya adjoined that of the Khmer satellite, *Teng-liu-mei*. *Langkasuka* had maintained its position as a unit in the empire while the ancient state of *Tāmbraliṅga* had re-asserted itself in the Ligor district. There is also evidence of the spread of civilization southwards down the east coast where, in addition to the entrepôt of Kuala Bĕrang, Kĕlantan, Trĕngganu and Pahang feature for the first time in Chinese records. Such notices as have come down to us of the trade of these states are discussed in Chapter VI above.

Towards the middle of the thirteenth century it is possible to detect signs of stress in the fabric of the *Śrī Vijayan* empire. Some century and a half earlier Kědah had attempted to secede from the confederacy. Now the C'aiya inscription[1] of 1230 shows that the king of *Tāmbraliṅga* not only considered himself an autonomous ruler but was also annexing neighbouring states on his own initiative. During the next forty years the fortunes of *Tāmbraliṅga*

[1] For text see Coedès, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, tome ii, p. 41.

prospered and, on the foundation of a common adherence to Hīnayāna Buddhism, her ruler cultivated friendly relations, if not an alliance, with the T'ai state of *Suk'ot'ai*. In 1270 *Tāmbraliṅga* suffered such a severe reverse while attempting to intervene in the affairs of Ceylon that, some twenty years later, she could offer little resistance to T'ai southward penetration. This was of such importance to the Peninsula that it deserves a separate section.

(4) THE T'AI INTERLUDE, A.D. 1300–1400

Mōn chronicles show the T'ais expanding southwards into the Malay Peninsula from about 1280. In an epexegesis to his inscription of 1292 Rama K'amheng claimed Ratburi, P'echaburi, Sritamarat (the seat of *Tāmbraliṅga)* and 'all the country to the bounding sea' as part of the empire of Suk'ot'ai,[1] but in 1295 the *Yüan-shih*[2] records the Imperial veto on further hostilities between the T'ai and the *Ma-li-yü-erh* 麻里予兒 at a time when the latter had been overrun. The limits of T'ai expansion on the Peninsula cannot be determined with certainty but it is significant that *Temasek*, at the extreme end of the Peninsula, successfully repulsed a raid during the thirties or forties of the fourteenth century.[3] Although the inclusion by the *Kot Mont'ien Ban*—dated 1358 but certainly compiled during the fifteenth century—of *Ujong Tanah* (= Land's End, that is, Johore) and *Malaka* among the T'ai dependencies is a demonstrable exaggeration, nevertheless there can be little doubt that during the fourteenth century T'ai influence was strong throughout the Peninsula. In the isthmian area this may have amounted to direct control but in the south it is unlikely to have been more than a nominal suzerainty symbolized by the payment of annual tribute.

It was until recently believed that T'ai influence over the southern half of the Peninsula was curbed by Javanese expansion. The *Nāgarakṛtāgama*, composed in 1365 by Prapañca, head of the Buddhist clergy, for example, enumerated fifteen dependencies of Majapahit in *Pahang*, the name by which the whole of the southern half of the Peninsula was known. The list begins with

[1] For text see Coedès, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, tome i, p. 48.

[2] Chap. 210, f. 5.

[3] Wang Ta-yüan, *Tao-i Chih-lioh*, f. 11 recto and Brown, *Sějarah Mělayu*, chap. 8.

Hujung-medini (Johore) and then proceeds as follows coastwise from the north-east to the north-west; *Lengkasuka*, *Sai*[*buri*], *Kalanten*, *Tringgano*, *Nasor*, *Paka*, *Muara Dungun*, *Tumasik*, *Sanghyang-hujung*, *Kelang*, *Keda*, *Jere*, *Kanjapiniran* (Fig. 49). Krom regarded this list as an impressive catalogue of Majapahit conquests but Professor C. C. Berg has sought to demonstrate that it is nothing more than the received geographical knowledge of

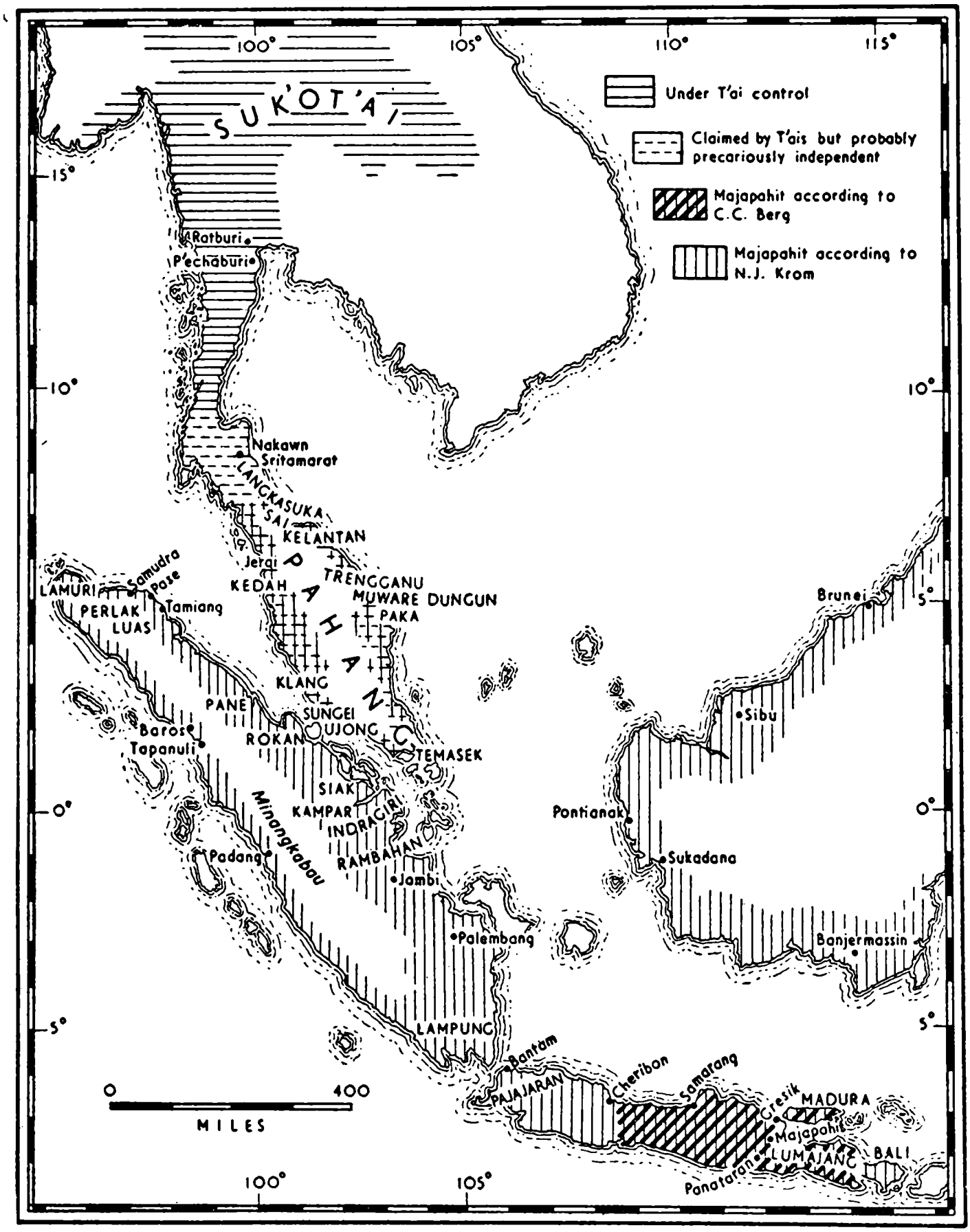

Fig. 49. The Malay Peninsula in the fourteenth century. Place-names are mostly modernized from the Nāgarakṛtāgama *of 1365.*

Prapañca's time.[1] The state of Majapahit at its maximum extent, he believes, comprised little more than East Java, Madura and Bali. It is unlikely that Berg will be able wholly to substantiate his argument in face of the adverse criticism it has received,[2] but the Greater Majapahit of orthodox Dutch historians has always been difficult to reconcile with T'ai claims to suzerainty over the Peninsula. The *Sějarah Mělayu*, though, does afford some indication that Majapahit may have obtained a foothold at *Temasek* in the extreme south of the Peninsula. Certainly that settlement was sacked by Javanese during the second half of the fourteenth century but most probably with the intent of plundering rather than occupation or incorporation in the Majapahit polity.

During most of this century Pahang's exports of jungle aromatics and tin were steadily increasing the wealth and prestige of her dynasty. Eredia, who may have had access to information now lost, relates that prior to the founding of Malacca the ruler of Pahang also governed *Syncapura*[3] (or *Temasek*). In 1378 the Maharaja sent a tribute mission to the Chinese court in his own right.[4] In the north *Tāmbraliṅga*, Kělantan, Trěngganu and *Hsia-lai-wu* were also benefiting from the Chinese trade in which forest products from their virgin hinterlands were exchanged for utility goods, luxuries and ceremonial objects of one sort or another. So far the pattern of states is that of earlier ages, with a group in the isthmian sector and another two or three on the east coast as far south as Pahang. Apart from *Lo-yüeh* and possibly *Māīṭ* there has been a conspicuous absence of place-names in the southern tracts of the Peninsula. Now *Temasek* appears as the name of a substantial settlement in the extreme south.

According to the *Sějarah Mělayu*,[5] the first settlement on the Island of *Temasek* was founded by a Sumatran prince with the help of colonists from Běntan and, in the fashion of the time, renamed *Sing[h]apura* or Lion City after a beast encountered at the river mouth. In the nineteenth century popular etymology[6]

[1] *Indonesië*, vol. v (1951), pp. 385–422.

[2] See, for example, Bosch, *BKI*, deel cxii (1956), pp. 1–24.

[3] Mills, *JMBRAS*, vol. viii, pt. 1 (1930), p. 37.

[4] *Ming-shih*, chap. 325.

[5] pp. 30–1 of Brown's edition.

[6] See, for example, G. Bennett, *Wanderings in New South Wales, Batavia, Pedir Coast, Singapore, and China*, vol. ii (London, 1834), p. 125.

favoured a more mundane derivation of the name from *singgah* and *pura*, meaning 'the city where one breaks one's journey'. In view of the location of Singapore on the straits this derivation possesses a specious plausibility. But neither explanation was anything more than a naïve rationalization and the origin of the name has until recently remained a matter of conjecture. Now Professor C. C. Berg[1] has proposed a new interpretation. Many places, he points out, are called after plants but few after animals, least of all the lion which does not inhabit the area. Rather must the origin of the name *Sing*[*h*]*apura* be sought in the esoteric Bhairava-Buddhism practised at the court of early Majapahit. Adherents of this faith adopted the sobriquet of 'lions' as illustrative of the character of their demoniac and orgiastic meetings, and several cities in the Majapahit dominion were designated 'Lion City' in this special sense. Such, for example, were *Sing*[*h*]*arajya* in Bali, *Sing*[*h*]*asari* in Java and *Sing*[*h*]*apura*.

The precise period during which this city-state flourished is uncertain. Dr. Linehan,[2] supplementing information from the *Sějarah Mělayu* with a dynastic reference from the *Ming-shih*, concludes that it existed from c. 1299–1391. Whether or not we accept this argument,[3] there is no doubt that *Singapura* controlled the Keppel Harbour passage between Karimon and Pedra Branca for most of the fourteenth century. The strategic advantages of its position appealed to the imperialistic ambitions of both T'ai and Javanese rulers but, on the grounds that Wang Ta-yüan records a T'ai defeat while the *Sějarah Mělayu* admits a Javanese victory, we may conclude that at least during the last quarter of the fourteenth century *Singapura* lay within the Majapahit sphere of influence. In 1331, as *Temasek*, it had featured among the countries mentioned in Gaja Mada's famous oath, and its sack by Majapahit forces in the 'sixties or 'seventies was probably in accord with that statesman's policy for the creation of a united Nusantara.[4]

The internal geography of this ancient settlement is better known than that of any other contemporary Peninsular town. The main nucleus seems to have been sited on terraces cut in the slopes of

[1] Lecture to the University of Malaya Historical Society, Singapore, 29 November, 1956.

[2] *JMBRAS*, vol. xx, pt. 2 (1947), pp. 117–27.

[3] See Gibson-Hill's comments, *MRM*, no. 3 (1956), pp. 43–5.

[4] Berg, *I*, vol. v, pp. 198–202.

the hill which dominated the town. Here were the temples and other important buildings, structures of atap and bamboo raised on brick and stone foundations. On the plain below were the dwellings of the citizens, surrounded by a rampart and ditch. According to Malay tradition, the estuary of the river was closed by a boom. Some two miles or so to the south-west a community of Orang Laut haunted the shores of Keppel Harbour and perpetrated such outrages on passing junks that their name became a byword in places as far distant as the ports of South China.

PART VII

'A City that was made for Merchandise'

THE GEOGRAPHY OF MALACCA DURING THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

CHAPTER XX

'A CITY THAT WAS MADE FOR MERCHANDISE'

ANCIENT authors were widely at variance in their dating of the foundation of Malacca. The earliest date assigned to this event was the eighth century of Gaspar Correa,[1] who was notoriously inaccurate when reporting at second-hand. João de Barros,[2] an unusually conscientious and discriminating historian, proposed the first half of the thirteenth century, Valentijn[3] 1252 or 1253 and Diogo de Couto[4] the first half of the fourteenth century. Eredia,[5] a scholar of honest intent who lived in Malacca some two centuries after the event, placed the founding of the city in 1411, while finally the son of Afonso de Albuquerque,[6] the conqueror of Malacca, basing his account on original documents, fixed the date at c. 1420. Among modern scholars, only Gabriel Ferrand[7] has attempted to substantiate Correa's claim for an eighth-century foundation, and his arguments have been effectively refuted by Rouffaer.[8] The great Malay scholar, Otto Blagden,[9] proposed the

[1] *Lendas de India*, vol. ii (1511), p. 221.
[2] *Asia*, decade ii, book 6, chapter 1.
[3] *Oud en niew Oost-Indiën*, deel v, book 6, chap. 2.
[4] *Asia*, decade iv, book 2, chapter 1.
[5] Mills, *JMBRAS*, vol. viii, pt. 1 (1930), p. 16.
[6] Birch, *Commentaries*, vol. iii, pp. 72 *et seq.*
[7] *JA*, tome xi (1918), pp. 391–484 and tome xii (1918), pp. 51–154.
[8] *BKI*, vol. lxxvii (1921), pp. 1–174, 359–604.
[9] *Actes du onzième congrès international des orientalistes*, deuxième section (Paris, 1898), p. 252.

last quarter of the fourteenth century, while most recent authors have favoured the turn of the century. The evidence is as follows.

Militating strongly against a date earlier than c. 1370 is the omission of any mention of Malacca in the narratives of Marco Polo (1292) and Odoric of Pordenone (1323), and the failure of Prapañca to include it among his list of place-names on the Malay Peninsula. Neither is it mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭah in 1345/6, but this is less significant in view of Ferrand's strictures on this author's veracity.[1] The claim advanced in the *Kot Mont'ien Ban* that *Malaka* was a T'ai dependency in 1358 may likewise be disregarded.[2]

The most authentic account of the circumstances leading to the foundation of this settlement is that of Tomé Pires[3] who spent two and a half years in Malacca at the beginning of the sixteenth century. It seems that a band of Bugis corsairs from the southwards, under the leadership of a renegade Sumatran or Javanese called Parameswara, established themselves in at least two localities on the west coast of the Peninsula, namely Muar and the Bĕrtam district, some two leagues north of Malacca. After a brief interlude these adventurers commandeered a fishing village at the mouth of the Malacca River as a mart for their spoils. Reasoning from political events in the Archipelago, Coedès assigns these activities to the first two years of the fifteenth century.[4] The marketing of illicit loot seems soon to have stimulated more orthodox trade with the Sumatran ports across the Strait[5] and with Bengal,[6] for Malacca was certainly an established trading centre by 1403 when the Chinese envoy Yin-Ch'ing 尹慶 visited it. The record of the embassy as related in the *Ming-shih* leaves the impression of a prosperous chiefdom nominally subject to Siam. But in an effort to end T'ai suzerainty the ruler of Malacca lost no time in seeking the protection of China. In 1405 his envoys proclaimed that their

[1] ' . . . on peut, je crois, conclure que Ibn Baṭūṭa n'est jamais allé en Indo-Chine et en Chine et a inventé ce voyage de toutes pièces; ou que soit Ibn Djuzay, soit les copistes des manuscrits de la relation, en ont modifié le texte au point qu'il est actuellement dénué de toute exactitude' (*Relations de voyages*, tome ii, pp. 432–3. Cp. Moquette, *Rapporten van den oudheikundigen dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië*, pp. 11–12).

[2] Cp. p. 301 above.

[3] Cortesão, *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires*, vol. ii, book 6.

[4] *Les états hindouisés*, p. 409.

[5] Pires, vol. ii, p. 238.

[6] Albuquerque, *Commentaries*, vol. iii, p. 77.

chief was 'aware of his duty and desired that his country should be considered a district of the empire, in return for which he would offer annual tribute'. In acknowledgment of these sentiments the Emperor appointed Parameswara king of Malacca. Four years later the settlement was raised by imperial decree to the status of a kingdom.[1]

The site thus fortuitously selected was not without advantage. A defensible hill close against a mangrove-free shore dominated a sheltered estuary of which Albuquerque was in later years to say, '. . . never was a ship lost there',[2] while inland a route led up the Malacca River to join the Muar-Pahang waterway at the Panarikan portage. On these natural attributes was based the early prosperity of Malacca, but it was not long before the wider implications of this situation became apparent. As Malacca came into competition with Pasai, Jambi and other Sumatran ports, so her rulers found it necessary to extend their control over the Strait. Now, although situated at the narrowest part of this channel, Malacca was not at the strategically critical point. This was the Klang district where the sailing routes approached closest to the Peninsular coast in order to avoid the Capacia Shoals (page 243). But here the land was bordered by a broad fringe of mangrove while approach from the sea was made difficult by shoals and half-submerged sandbanks, in contrast to the fair approaches to Malacca, remarked by Albuquerque as a 'sure and speedy navigation'.[3] Malacca's supremacy over the Strait was ensured when Iskandar Shah fitted out a fleet of patrol boats, manned by Celates, to force vessels to call at Malacca.[4] As in the days of *Śrī Vijaya*, the Strait became again a private sea.

The need for such action emphasizes the essential character of Malaccan trade. Whereas the other ports on both the Sumatran and Peninsular coasts existed for the export of the products of their hinterlands, Malacca was, by reason of history and geography, an entrepôt, dependent for its prosperity on the volume of trade passing through the Strait. Deli, Rokan, Siak, Kampar, Indragiri, Kĕdah, Perak, Bruas and the rest flourished in proportion to the

[1] *Ming-shih*, chap. 325 and Ma-Huan, *Ying-yai Sheng-lan*, p. 32.

[2] *Commentaries*, vol. 3, p. 84.

[3] Cp. also Iskandar Shah's communication to the Javanese ruler. Quoted in Cortesão, *The Suma Oriental*, vol. ii, p. 239.

[4] de Barros, *Asia*, decade ii, book 6, chap. 1.

productivity of their immediate territories and the demand for their commodities: Malacca was tied to the full flow of South-East Asian commerce. But to enforce her monopoly, she needed to implement—and facilitate—control of the sea by extension of her authority over the neighbouring coasts, and during the fifteenth century this task was accomplished by a succession of able rulers. In the middle of the century Sultan Muzaffar Shah acquired *Myjam*[1] (Dinding) and Sĕlangor, places which supplied Malacca with both foodstuffs and tin, and established his sway over the *Fremoso* (Batu Pahat) River. Campaigns against Kampar, Indragiri and Rokan not only brought both shores of the Strait under Malaccan control but safeguarded the flow of gold from the Minangkabau hinterland. Finally Muzaffar, despite determined opposition from Siam and her peninsular vassals, imposed his authority over Singapore and Bentan, pirate lairs at the strategic meeting point of the China and Java Seas. Mansur Shah continued his father's policy so successfully that by the time of his death in 1459 the empire also included Kĕdah, Perak, Bruas, Bĕrnam, Johore, Pahang and Trĕngganu on the Peninsula, Rupat, Siak, Jambi and Bĕngkalis in Sumatra, and the Karimun Islands at the southern end of Malacca Strait. With the acquisition of Lingga in the reign of Ala'ud-din (1477–88) the empire reached its greatest extent (Fig. 50), and shortly afterwards Sultan Mahmud finally repudiated the diplomatic figment of Siamese suzerainty. By the end of the century Malacca controlled all the northern shore of the Strait, the most important part of the southern shore, the archipelagoes athwart its eastern approaches and sundry other island bases which had formerly harboured pirate fleets preying on the commerce of these seas. This was the state of affairs obtaining when Malacca passed under European control in 1511.

Trade brought to Malacca not only wealth but also the faith which was to mould the mores of the Peninsular Malays for five hundred years until they achieved nationhood in 1957. Islam had

[1] Also written by Pires as *Minjam*, *Mjmjam* and *Mijam*. It is the *nu* . . . on Desliens' world chart of 1541, *.imchon* on the Harley map, c. 1544, *nucha* on Desceliers 1550, *micha* on the same cartographer's world chart of 1553, *michim* on Guillaume le Testu 1555, *micham* on an anonymous portolan of c. 1546, and *mican* on Gastaldi's *Terza parte dell' Asia* of 1561 as well as on the maps of those who copied him, e.g., Ortelius, 1570 and 1595 and de Jode, 1578. Cortesão (vol. 1, p. 107) suggests that the name still survives in Mehegan Point at the mouth of the Dinding River (Cp. *Malacca Strait Pilot*, p. 140).

already established itself in at least two North Sumatran ports by the end of the thirteenth century, and when the Sultanate of Pasai was converted it was only a matter of time before the new faith reached Malacca. The first ruler of that city was converted to Islam probably in the second decade of the fifteenth century and, despite

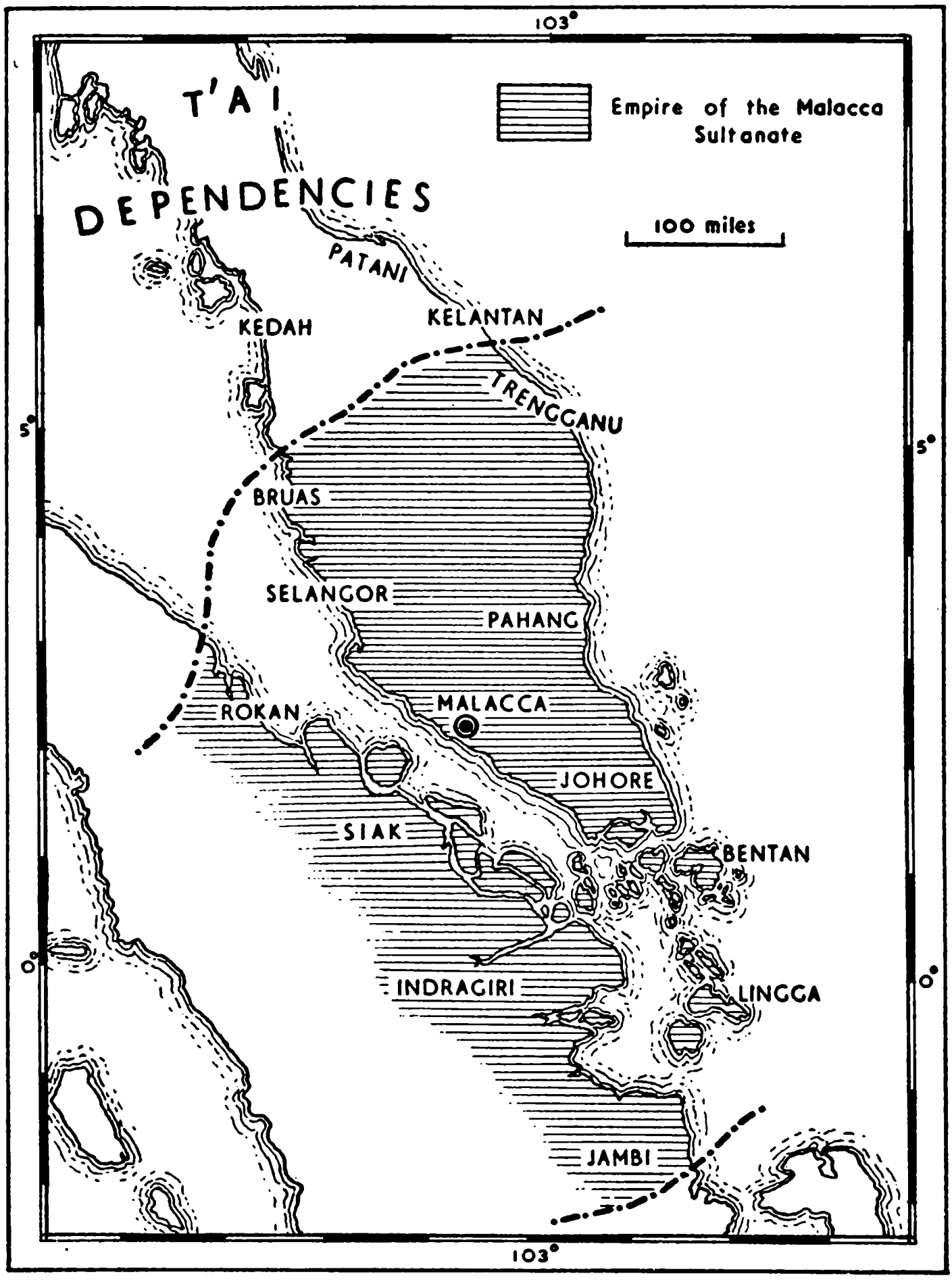

Fig. 50. The Malacca Sultanate at its greatest extent.

the possible apostasy of two succeeding rulers, the new religion became firmly established with the accession of Muzaffar Shah in c. 1445. The waxing commercial power of Malacca, aided by diplomatic royal marriages, carried Islam north to Kědah, east to Pahang and south to Johore. In later years this new faith was a powerful factor in the moulding of the cultural landscape. To every kampong it gave a mosque and to nearly every holding it brought a process of subdivision checked only by legislation in some states in the twentieth century. But of this our fifteenth-century sources make no mention: it is a tale yet to be told.

Owing to the paucity of extant descriptions the plan of the actual city of Malacca can be discussed only in the most general manner. It seems that from the earliest days the upper slopes of the present St. Paul's Hill were maintained as a royal precinct[1] enclosing the residence of the chief and his body-guards.[2] There was also a country istana set amid the pleasant sawahs and dusuns of the Bĕrtam valley, a landscape charged with association for the ruling dynasty.[3] The pile-raised dwellings of immigrant Malays clustered on the lower slopes of St. Paul's Hill and on the far side of the Malacca estuary[4] while a community of Orang Laut had built their huts against the shore. In later years when the nucleus of the settlement around the hill had been enclosed by a palisade, the wealthier merchants lived amid their orchards and tanks outside the wall,[5] while maintaining business offices within the town. The bridge which had been thrown across the river in early days performed the dual function of linking those communities to the north and south of the river and also of housing the main market.[6] At the same time a hostelry and specially protected godowns were provided for foreign merchants.[7]

Malacca was founded as, rather than developed into, a trading port so that the colonists gave little thought to agriculture. In addition the marine alluvium which extended some distance inland from the shore was still too brackish to permit padi cultivation.

[1] Pires, vol. ii, p. 237.
[2] Albuquerque, *Commentaries*, p. 79.
[3] Pires, vol. ii, p. 246.
[4] Pires, vol. ii, p. 237 and Ma-Huan, *Ying-yai Sheng-lan*, p. 34.
[5] Barbosa, vol. ii, p. 176.
[6] Ma-Huan, p. 33.
[7] Ma-Huan, p. 36.

Instead sago was adopted as the staple food.[1] In the absence of matured orchards the early settlers planted quick-growing crops such as sugar-cane, bananas, jack-fruit, vegetables and spices,[2] but at the beginning of the century Tomé Pires estimated that there were more than a thousand orchards in Malacca territory.[3] Certainly to subsequent visitors the abundance of fruit trees was one of the salient characteristics of the landscape.[4]

The population of Parameswara's fishing village expanded rapidly. After three years there were some 2,000 inhabitants and before his death 6,000.[5] Malays were always by far the most numerous but from the very earliest years foreign merchants resided in the town. First came traders from the Sumatran ports across the Strait, among whom those from Pasai were particularly numerous, so that 'whereas the place used once to be a village of Pacé, Pacé became at length a village of Malacca'.[6] These were quickly joined by Bengalis, and then by Gujaratis, Klings, Parsis and merchants from as far afield as Arabia. Pires[7] avers that no less than eighty-four distinct languages could be heard in the streets of Malacca. He estimates the number of foreign merchants in the city in 1509 to be about 4,000, of whom 1,000 were Gujaratis.[8]

The life-blood of Malacca was commerce. During the fourteenth century the Strait was the crucial sector of the world's major trade-route which had one terminus in Venice—or even further westwards—and the other in the Molucca Islands. Spices were carried through the Archipelago over many routes and in the ships of divers peoples; in the Indian Ocean they also followed various directions before finally entering the Middle East through either

[1] Ma-Huan, p. 32 and *Ming-shih*, chap. 325. Cp. also di Varthema, *Voyages*, p. 231.

[2] Ma-Huan, pp. 35–6. This point was first noticed by Sir Richard Winstedt in his *A History of Malaya*, pp. 42–3.

[3] Cortesão, p. 260. Cp. Barbosa, p. 178, but contrast di Varthema (p. 231). This last author came no nearer to Malacca than Pegu.

[4] See, for example, Nieuhoff, Navarette and Careri as translated by J. J. Sheehan, *JMBRAS*, vol. xii, pt. 2 (1934), pp. 71–107.

[5] Pires, vol. ii, p. 238.

[6] Albuquerque, *Commentaries*, vol. iii, pp. 84–5.

[7] Vol. ii, p. 269.

[8] Vol. ii, pp. 254–5. Chap. 325 of the *Ming-shih* also mentions light-complexioned descendants of some unspecified Chinese among the population of Malacca, but in view of the late date at which this work was compiled it is doubtful if the information is reliable. Pires makes no mention of Chinese residents in Malacca.

the Persian Gulf or the Red Sea (Fig. 51), but to the Strait of Malacca there was no practicable alternative. Here the staple produce of the Archipelago was funnelled through a natural channel in places less than forty miles wide. This, as later the Portuguese were to realize,[1] was the only point throughout the 8,000 miles of the trade-route at which a monopoly of spice distribution could be established. There were, too, other unique advantages inherent in the regional position of Malacca. Before the days of steam the seasonal reversals of wind direction in this angle of Asia induced a corresponding movement in the shipping sailing back and forth between India on the one hand and the Far East and Archipelago on the other. Vessels not making the through voyage—and these were by far the majority—found at Malacca an entrepôt for the transhipment of their cargoes, so that by the second decade of the fourteenth century the port had become the collecting centre for produce of the Archipelago and the distributing point for Indian textiles. Of comparatively minor importance[2] was the third element in the web of South-East Asian commerce, the China trade. The pivotal position of Malacca at the junction of the Indian, China and Java Seas was fully appreciated by Tomé Pires, the shrewd apothecary from Portugal, whose description of the economic regimen of Malacca can stand repetition here: 'Malacca is a city that was made for merchandise, fitter than any other in the world; the end of monsoons and the beginning of others. Malacca is surrounded and lies in the middle, and the trade and commerce between the different nations for a thousand leagues on every hand must come to Malacca.'[3]

The fundamental basis of Malaccan trade was an exchange of the staple products of the Archipelago for the staple manufactures of India. Malacca was in effect a collecting centre for the spices of the Bandas and Moluccas and a distributing centre for the textiles

[1] Cp., for example, the speech which Braz de Albuquerque put into the mouth of his father (*Commentaries*, vol. iii, p. 118). The Portuguese capture of Malabar, Albuquerque pointed out, had not halted the flow of spices to Cairo but 'I hold it as very certain that if we take this trade of Malacca away out of their hands, Cairo and Méca are entirely ruined, and to Venice will no spiceries be conveyed except that which her merchants go to buy in Portugal'. Pires put the matter even more succinctly in his famous phrase, 'Whoever is lord of Malacca has his hand on the throat of Venice' (vol. ii, p. 287).

[2] Although profitable for the individual adventurer, sometimes yielding three for one (Pires, p. 284).

[3] Cortesão, p. 286.

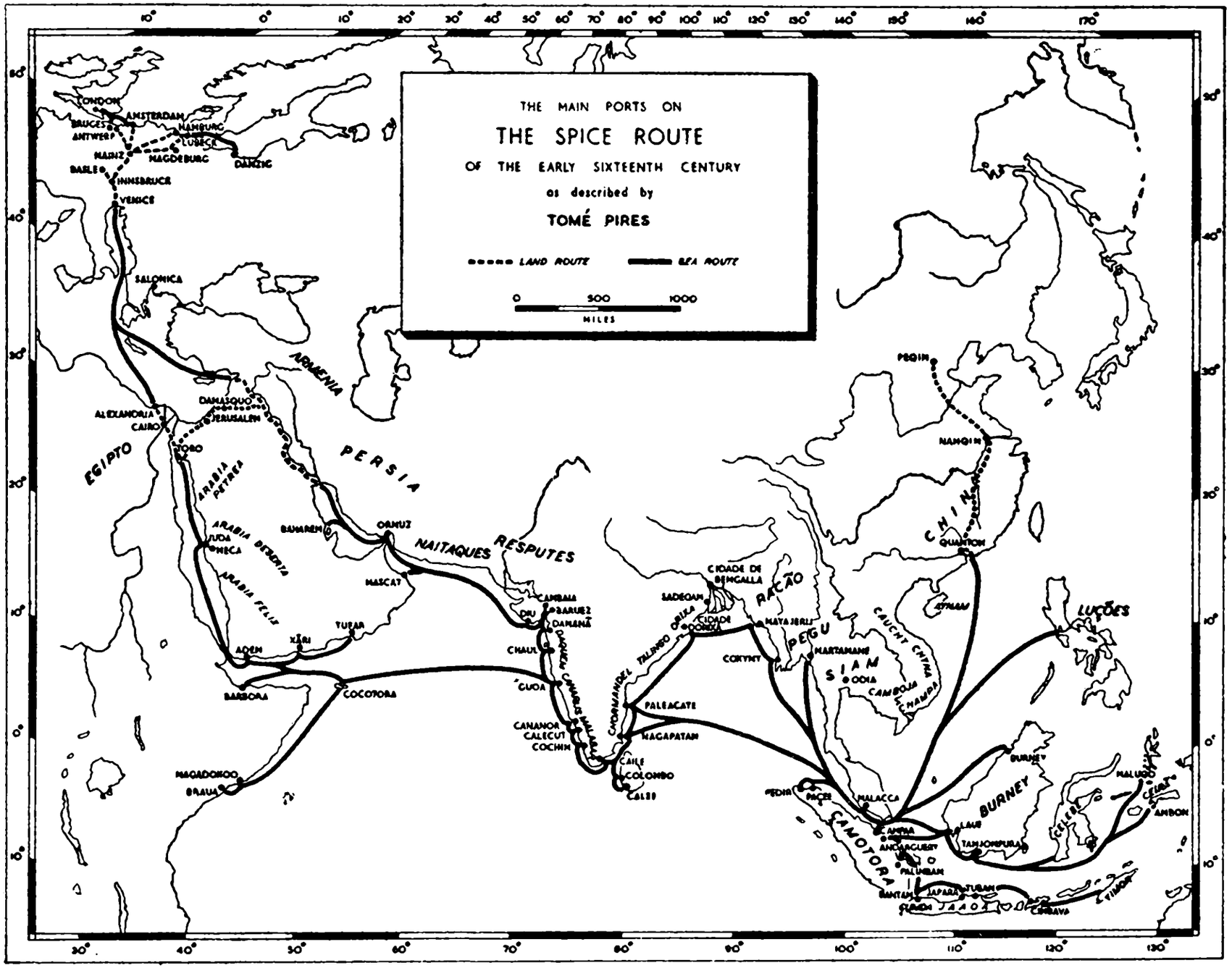

Fig. 51. The position of Malacca on the spice route. Place-names mainly from the Suma Oriental *of Tomé Pires.*

of Gujarat, Coromandel, Malabar and Bengal. In addition to the not inconsiderable quantity of cloves and nutmegs brought to Malacca by traders of the Archipelago, every year eight ships sailed from that port directly to the Moluccas where they bartered coarse Cambay cloth and the tails of white Bengal cattle for a total of five or six thousand bahars of cloves.[1] From Malacca these were shipped westwards, mostly in Indian bottoms, together with a rich variety of island products such as nutmegs, mace, Borneo camphor, sandalwood, lignum aloes, benzoin, musk, seed-pearls, batiks, carpets, Javanese krises and bird-plumes. From her own Peninsular territories Malacca contributed consignments of tin.

For her trade relations with the West Malacca was dependent on the intermediacy of the entrepôt of Cambay. 'Malacca', says Tomé Pires, 'cannot live without Cambay, nor Cambay without Malacca.'[2] Merchants from the Middle East took eighteen months to journey from the Red Sea to Malacca. During the southwest monsoon they converged on Cambay with cargoes of arms, scarlet-in-grain, woollens, coral, copperware, trinkets, opium, rose-water, liquid storax, raisins, indigo and suchlike commodities. In that city merchants from Cairo, Mecca, Aden and Ormuz, together with those from the Levant, Asia Minor and East Africa, formed themselves into companies preparatory to sailing for Malacca in March, that is, at the beginning of the next favourable monsoon. According to Pires,[3] they dealt in a wide range of merchandise, including thirty kinds of cloth, putchuk, catechu, rose-water, opium, seeds, grains, tapestries and incense. Merchants from the rest of the Indian littoral formed their companies either at Calicut or Pulicat or in Bengal. Yearly three or four vessels voyaged to Malacca from the Coromandel coast, together with another one or two from Pulicat, bringing 'rich cloths of great value'. While the Gujaratis monopolized the cream of the Malaccan trade, the merchants from Coromandel handled the greater part by bulk. Principally they exchanged textiles for white sandalwood, Barus camphor, alum, white silk, seed-pearls, a few spices, a great deal of copper but little tin, fruseleira, calambac, damasks, Chinese brocades and gold. The brocades were fed into the main stream

[1] Pires, vol. i, pp. 212–4.
[2] Vol. i, p. 45.
[3] Vol. ii, p. 270.

of trade by the annual arrival of up to ten junks from China, which also bartered large quantities of silk, both raw and made-up, satins, taffetas and other textiles, seed-pearls, musk, camphor, alum, saltpetre, sulphur, copper- and iron-ware, trinkets, bric-à-brac and rhubarb mainly for pepper, together with other spices, aromatics, drugs, ivory, tin, red beads, carnelians, coloured woollens and 'infinite quantities of the black wood that grows in Singapore *(Syngapura)*'.[1]

Nor were commercial relations lacking between Malacca and peninsular South-East Asia. Cochin-China's trade links were oriented towards China and *Campā* was all but excluded from the southern trade by Siam, but this last sent up to thirty vessels annually with cargoes of lac, benzoin, brazilwood, ivory, copper-ware, precious stones, precious and base metals and quantities of coarse Siamese cloth. On the return voyage the bottoms were loaded with a variety of merchandise itemized by Pires as follows: slaves, white sandalwood, spices, quicksilver, vermilion, opium, muslins, Kling cloths manufactured specially for the Siamese market, camlets, carpets, Cambay brocades, rose-water, wax, white cow-ries, putchuk and gall-nuts. From Pegu there came annually to Malacca in February and March (the end of the north-east monsoon) some fifteen vessels, bringing rice and other foodstuffs, aromatics, rubies and silver. On the first of July each year these vessels set sail for Pasai, where they supplemented their cargoes made up from the China and island trade with consignments of pepper. In August they sailed for Martaban and so home. In particular Pegu was the sole market for two items brought from the Far East: a coarse china ornamented with a distinctive design in red, and flowered prints. Throughout the whole of the Archipelago trade focussed on Malacca. A dozen Palembang vessels visited the port each year bringing mainly provisions, jungle products and slaves in exchange for coarse Indian cloths, while from Java, Borneo, Celebes, the Philippines and other lesser kingdoms prahus converged on the Strait during the north-east monsoon and scattered again throughout the unnumbered islands during the succeeding period of westerlies.

[1] Presumably one of the ebony *(Diospyros)* genus, though the *Dalbergias* must not be excluded from consideration.

Despite the wealth and importance of Malacca, the immediate hinterland of the port appears to have been almost wholly undeveloped. Stretching from Kuala Linggi *(Acoala Penajy* of Pires)[1] in the north to Kuala Kesang *(Acoala Caçam)* in the south and extending inland as far as the foothills of Gunong Ledang *(Golom Leidam)*, the territory of Malacca comprised, in Pires's words, 'a great deal of wood, most of it growing straight up to the sky', interspersed with occasional groves of kampong fruit-trees. Pires says timber for masts could be obtained from those forests[2] and the Ming history[3] includes a list of jungle products sent from Malacca to China, but at least some of these were probably re-exports. Just beyond the Malacca boundary to the south was Muar, a community of padi-farmers and fishermen (Fig. 52). Pires[4] records 2,000 men in the settlement, which implies a total population of at least 4,000, but this is probably an exaggeration. The Batu Pahat River *(Fremoso* River)[5] was more thinly populated but no less productive of fruit and fish. Finally, in the extreme south of the Peninsula a few Orang Laut still haunted the shores of what is now Keppel Harbour [*canall De sijmgapura*]. Of the settlement on Singapore hill Pires makes no mention.

Northwards beyond the Linggi River was a succession of settlements which were under the direct rule of Malacca and which, in addition to paying an annual tribute of tin, engaged in a coastal trade in foodstuffs for that city. Most of these were mere villages. Sungei Ujong *(Cinyojum, Cinjojum, Cinjojuũ)*, Klang *(Clam)* and Perak *(Pirac)* each had about 200 persons, Sĕlangor *(Çalamgor)* was somewhat larger, while Bĕrnam *(Vernam)* had 400. The largest producer of tin was the district of *Mjmjam* (Dinding), which was notable for its colony of 500 Filipinos *(Luções)*.[6] Bruas *(Baruaz)*, comprising two villages on the river of that name, was of a rather different character, depending less on tin production than on its fleet of trading prahus. The annual tin tribute paid by each of these villages is tabulated below. Judging from their

[1] p. 259. Cp. Eredia's *Panagim* (e.g., map between ff. 11 and 13 in Janssen's *Malaca, l'Inde Méridionale et le Cathay*).

[2] p. 260.

[3] Chap. 325.

[4] p. 261.

[5] Cp. Appendix 2 to Part II.

[6] Pires, p. 134.

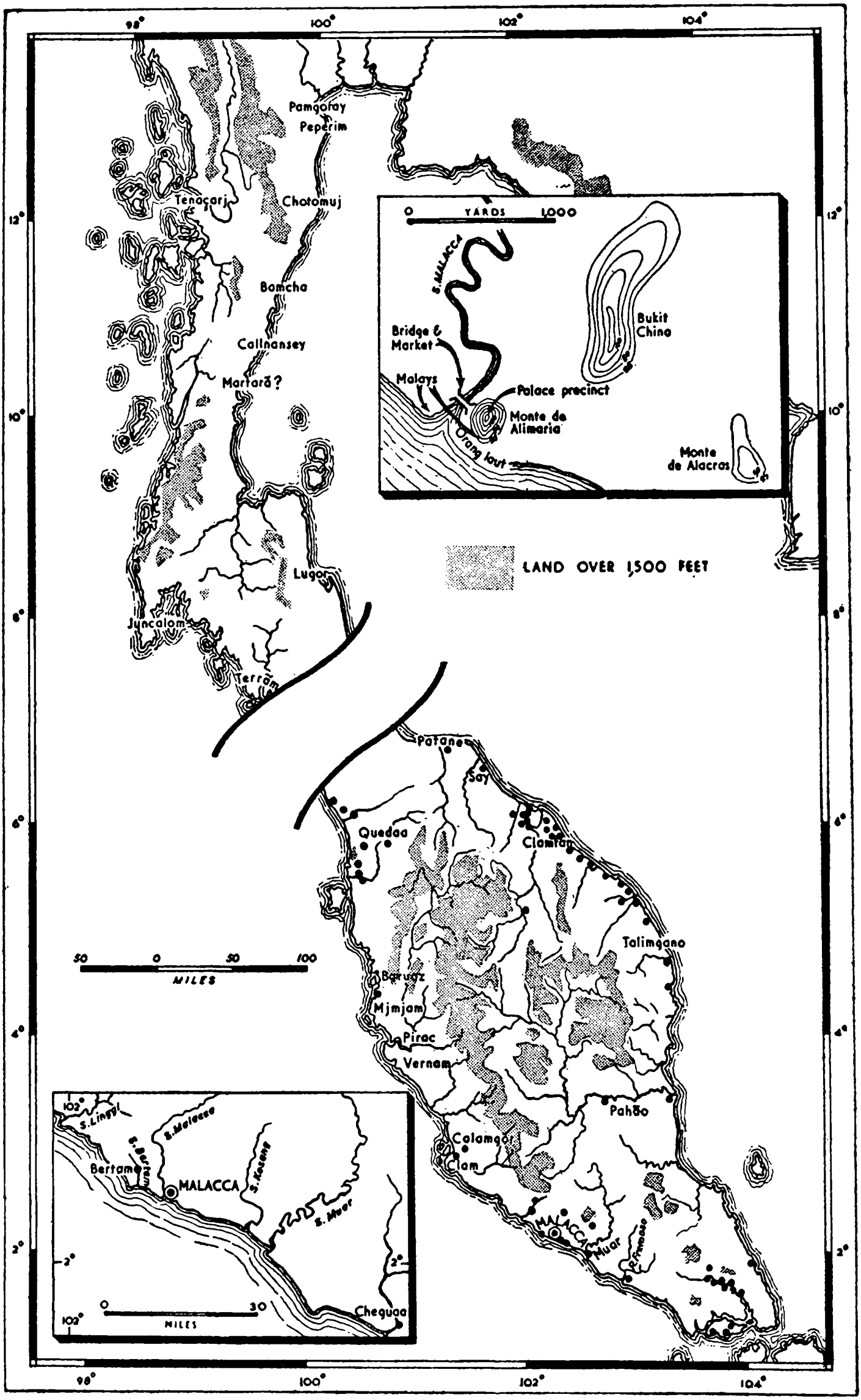

Fig. 52. The Malay Peninsula in the fifteenth century. Place-names are mainly those mentioned in the Suma Oriental *of Tomé Pires. Dots in the southern half of the Peninsula represent place-names (other than* regional *toponyms) appearing on de Josselin de Jong's map illustrating classical Malay literature,* MJTG, *vol. 9 (1956), p. 64. Insets: Malacca town and its environs.*

populations and Tomé Pires's descriptions, these assessments seem to be roughly in accord with the prosperity of the settlements.

	Population (estimated by Pires)	*Tribute in calains*[1]
Sungei Ujong	200	4,000
Klang	200	4,000
Sĕlangor	200 +	6,000
Bĕrnam	400	4,000
Mjmjam (Dinding)	500 + ?	8,000
Bruas	?	6,000
Perak	200	4,000

During the fourteen-sixties the state of Pahang *(Pahãmo, Pahãao, Paão, Pahãm, Pahão)* became an appanage of Malacca, while itself exercising dominion over its northern neighbour, Trĕngganu *(Talimgano)*.[2] According to Pires,[3] its capital was a port with a good harbour frequented by prahus from the Archipelago and inhabited by citizens knowledgable in the ways of commerce. It exported its jungle products, tin and pepper to places as far distant as China and featured in an overland transit trade across the Peninsula to Malacca. In return it imported textiles, ironware and sundry luxury goods from China. Some 150 miles offshore was Pulau Jimaja *(Jumaia)*, the Tortuga of the Eastern Seas, where the Celates had organized a continuous fair for the disposal of their spoils.[4]

The rest of the Peninsula was under the jurisdiction of Siam, the east coast being governed by a T'ai official from Ligor *(Loguor, Lugou)* and the west by another residing in Tenasserim *(Tenaçarj)*. Pires[5] catalogues the following ports on the east coast: Kĕlantan *(Clamtam)*, *Say* (Sai = Telubin),[6] Patani, Ligor, *Matra? (Martarã)*,

[1] Tin ingots used as currency and equivalent to just under 12 *reis* (Pires, pp. 99, 275. See also Cortesão's remarks on p. 94, note 1).

[2] Pires, p. 263.

[3] p. 263.

[4] Pires, pp. 227, 228.

[5] pp. 109–10.

[6] Cp. p. 97 above. On a subsequent folio (p. 110 of Cortesão's edition) Kĕlantan and *Sai* are run together to produce the fantasy *Chantansay*, a place-name which has hitherto eluded identification.

Bang Kamma Sen *(Callnansey)*, Bang Sabhan *(Bamcha)*, Ko Ta Kut *(Cotinuo, Chotomuj)*, Pechaburi *(Peperim)* and Bang Plassoy (Pamgoray).[1] Most of these are only names to us, though they seem to have engaged in a coastal trade which extended to Cambodia and *Campā*, Java, Malacca and the east-coast ports of Sumatra. Their chief export was pepper.

On the west coast there was a similar succession of small ports from Tenasserim in the north to Kědah adjoining 'the end of the kingdom of Malacca', and including Puket *(Juncalom* = Junk Ceylon) and Trang *(Terrãm)*. Of these Kědah was the most important but the wealth and prosperity, the felicities and elegancies of former years[2] were so far forgotten that Pires[3] could only describe it as a 'very small kingdom, with few people and few houses'. Yet it had already assumed its role as a rice-bowl of the Peninsula[4] and exported about 400 bahars[5] of pepper a year. Some of this was sent overland by way of the Kědah River to Patani and thence to China, but most of the remainder was collected by a Gujarati ship which paid an annual visit to these west-coast ports. Kědah also had long established trade relations with the Sumatran ports of Pasai and Pedir. On the whole Pires's account of this state seems to imply that, although Kědah was thinly populated and had declined greatly since its heyday as an important node in the *Śrī Vijayan* empire, yet its position at the gateway to a trans-peninsular trade-route was still ensuring a mild and limited prosperity for its few inhabitants.

[1] Identifications by Cortesão, p. 105, note 2.

[2] Chap. XVIII.

[3] p. 106.

[4] Pires, p. 107.

[5] A weight which varied with time and place but which was generally reckoned as 400 lb. avoirdupois.

APPENDIX

TWO FIFTEENTH-CENTURY DESCRIPTIONS OF MALACCA

1. YING-YAI SHENG-LAN 瀛涯勝覽 BY MA-HUAN 馬歡 (1451)

Formerly [Malacca 滿剌加] was not styled a kingdom but was known as the Five Isles 五嶼, because there were that number of islands off that part of the coast. It had no king, but only a chieftain. The country was under the rule of *Hsien-lo* 暹羅 (Siam), to which it paid an annual [tribute] of 40[1] taels of gold. Default [in this matter] would have provoked an attack. In the seventh year of the ssŭ-ch'ou [period] of the Yung-lo [Emperor][2] the eunuch Cheng-Ho, [in his capacity as] an imperial envoy, conveyed [to Malacca] the commands of the Emperor, [in token of which] he bestowed on the chieftain of that country a pair of silver seals, a head-dress, a girdle and a long robe. He raised the place to the status of a city, since when it has been known as the Kingdom of Malacca. Henceforth the Siamese dared not venture to attack it, and the ruler, now by the imperial favour [styled] king, proceeded in company with his consort to the capital [of China], where he expressed his gratitude and offered products of his country as tribute. The Emperor then assigned him a ship in which to return home so that he might [continue to] govern his land. To the south-east [of this country] is the ocean, to the north-west the mainland, which is continued as a chain of mountains. The soil is sandy and saline. Temperatures are hot during the day, but cool at night. The infertile fields yield little rice, so that the people are not greatly concerned with agriculture. A sizeable stream flows by the royal palace before entering the sea. Over this the King has built a bridge, on which he has constructed some twenty booths for the sale of all kinds of commodities.[3] Both the King and his subjects revere the laws of Islam, and observe its fasts and penances. The King wears a white turban of fine local cloth, a

[1] 叢書集成 edition reads 四十, but all other versions which I have seen, both of the original text and of Chang-Sheng's rifacimento, read 五十. Cp. also Duyvendak, 'Ma Huan re-examined', p. 43.

[2] A.D. 1409.

[3] Cp. Fig. 52, top inset.

long floral robe of fine green calico, and leather shoes. He fares abroad in a palanquin. Among the [common] people the men wear square, cotton kerchiefs round their heads, and the women dress their hair in chignons. The bodies [of the people] are rather dark [in colour]. They wrap a length of white cotton round their loins and wear short bajus of cotton print. Their customs and usages are pure and simple. Their houses are raised on one-storey platforms and lack a layer of planks [against the ground], but a floor of split coconut-palms is erected and lashed with rattan—exactly as if it were a sheep-pen[1]—at a height of about four feet. On this floor [the people] spread their beds and mats, on which they sit cross-legged, and [on this floor] they also eat, sleep and cook. Most of the inhabitants [of Malacca] are occupied in fishing, for which they venture out to sea in boats hollowed from a single tree [-trunk]. Local products include *Coptis teeta* (rhizomes 黃連香),[2] ebony, damar 打麻兒香, tin and suchlike. Damar in its original state is the sap of a tree[3] which flows into the ground and is then dug up. It oozes from the tree in gouts in the same way as the resin of the pine does. When lit, it continues to burn, and the native people use it for lighting purposes. When they have finished building a boat, they smear this substance along the seams to render them waterproof. The people gather a great deal [of damar] for sale to other countries. A superior variety, which is clear, transparent and resembles amber, is called *sun-tu-lu-ssŭ* 損都盧斯.[4] The local people make it into beads for těngkolok. These beads, which they sell, are known as water amber 水珀. Tin occurs in two localities in the mountains, and the King [of Malacca] has appointed officials to control [these districts]. Men wash [the tin] in sieves, smelt it and cast it into ingots of disk-like shape, the standard weight of which is either 1 kati 8 taels or 1 kati 4 taels. Ten ingots bound together with rattan constitute a small bundle, forty ingots a large

[1] And, we may add, exactly as is done today.

[2] *Coptis teeta* is a herb of the family *Ranunculaceae* which is cultivated in South-West China. The genus *Coptis* is found only in the temperate lands of Asia so that, if it was indeed shipped from Malacca, it could only have been a re-export, possibly brought to the Straits from India, which in turn obtained it from the eastern Himalaya.

[3] The Malay word *damar* is applied to a wide range of vegetable resins, notably those from members of the dipterocarp family.

[4] This must be the *damar mata kuching* or cat's eye resin of the Malays, who have traditionally classified their damars by colour. This particular type is known to be exuded by several species of *Hopea*.

bundle. In all their trade transactions [the people] use [these ingots of] tin. The language, the books and the marriage ceremonies [of Malacca] closely resemble those of *Chao-wa* 爪哇 (Java). In the mountainous wilderness [of the interior] is a palm known as the sago 沙狐. The country folk pound the bark [of this palm], which resembles the root of the Chinese bean, soak it in water, [allow it] to settle and strain it. The flour obtained in this way is moulded into pellets of the size of green peas, which are dried in the sun and sold as food. On the low ground bordering the sea there grows a palm whose fronds are as long as those of the kajang 茭葦. When its sword-like leaves first appear they are [as pliable as] young bamboo shoots. The fruits have the appearance of lichees, and are of the size of hen's eggs. The people use them to ferment a liquor, which they call kajang wine[1] and which has the power of intoxication. The local folk interweave the leaves of this plant with bamboo to make fine quality mats which, although only two feet wide, exceed ten feet in length. These they offer for sale. There are sugar-cane, plantains, jack-fruit, wild lichees and suchlike. The vegetables include onions, ginger, leeks, mustard, gourds, water-melons and so forth. Cattle, goats, fowls and ducks are few, and therefore costly, a head of buffalo being priced at a kati of silver. There are neither donkeys nor horses [in the land]. The shores of the sea are inhabited by turtles and by dragons which [are capable of] wounding men. This dragon is three or four feet high, has four legs and a body which is completely encased in scales. It has a ridge of spines along its back, a dragon's head and teeth well adapted to grasping prey. It will devour any man whom it chances to encounter.[2] In the mountains there is a yellow tiger, which is rather smaller than the yellow tiger of China. There is also a black species and a yellow one with dark spots. Some species of tigers, which can assume human form, frequent the capital and mix with the populace. If anyone recognizes one [of these creatures] he seizes and kills it. They are similar to

[1] This is a confused notice but there can be little doubt that the plant referred to is the *nipa* palm *(Nipa fruticans)*, whose pinnate fronds rise from tidal mud flats throughout Malaya. Ma-Huan was mistaken in thinking that the intoxicating liquor or toddy was fermented from the fruits. It was, in fact, prepared by fermenting the sweet sap which flows upwards through the stalk towards an inflorescence.

[2] The estuarine crocodile or *Crocodilus porosus*, which inhabits tropical Asiatic river mouths and mangrove swamps.

the corpse-headed barbarians of *Chan-ch'eng* 占城 *(Campā)*.[1] When this place (Malacca) is visited by Chinese merchant vessels [the inhabitants] erect a barrier [for the collection of duties]. There are four gates in the city wall, each furnished with watch- and drum-towers. At night men with hand-bells patrol [the precincts]. Inside the walls a second small enclosure of palisades has been built where godowns have been constructed for the storage of specie and provisions. When the government ships[2] were returning homewards, they visited this place in order both to repair [their vessels] and to load local products. Here they waited for a favourable wind from the south, and in the middle of the fifth month they put out to sea on their return voyage. The King [of Malacca],[3] accompanied by his consort, his son and some of his headmen, laid in products of his country and followed [our] fleet [to China], where he came to court and presented tribute.

Translated from Chapter 62 of the *Chi-lu-hui-pien* 紀錄彙編 as published in the 叢書集成 series. For another translation of this edition of the text see W. P. Groeneveldt, 'Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca' in *Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China and the Indian Archipelago*, second series, vol. i (London, 1887), pp. 243–5. W. W. Rockhill has translated a rifacimento of the original text in 'Notes on the relations and trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the coast of the Indian Ocean during the fourteenth century', in *T'oung Pao*, tome xvi (Leiden, 1915), pp. 114–7. For comments on both translations see J. J. L. Duyvendak, 'Ma Huan re-examined', *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam*, Afdeeling letterkunde, Nieuwe reeks, deel xxxii, no. 2 (Amsterdam, 1933).

2. HSING-CH'A SHENG-LAN 星槎勝覽 BY FEI-HSIN 費信 (1436)

This place did not formerly rank as a kingdom. It can be reached from Palembang 舊港 on the monsoon in eight days. The coast is rocky and desolate, the population sparse. The country [used to] pay an annual tax of 40 taels[4] of gold to Siam. The soil is infertile and yields low. In the interior there is a mountain from [the slopes of] which a river takes its rise. The [local] folk pan the sands

[1] Cp. *Ying-yai Sheng-lan*, p. 12 and *Hsing-ch'a Sheng-lan*, p. 3. Cp. also the were-tigers of Malaya, which include both men who can assume tiger-shape in their lifetime and those who only become tigers after death.

[2] That is, the ships of the fourth expedition sent out by the Yung-lo Emperor in 1413–5, which sailed as far west as the Persian Gulf.

[3] Parameswara, known after his adoption of the Islamic faith as Muhammad Iskandar Shah.

[4] This amount is in agreement with the reading of the 叢書集成 edition, but see note 1 on p. 321 above.

[of this river] to obtain tin, which they smelt into ingots called *tou* 斗. These weigh 1 kati 4 taels standard weight. [The inhabitants] also weave banana fibre into mats. Apart from tin, no other product enters into [foreign] trade. The climate is hot during the day but cool at night. [Both] sexes coil there hair into a knot. Their skin resembles black lacquer, but there are [some] white-complexioned folk among them who are of Chinese descent. The people esteem sincerity and honesty. They make a living by panning tin and catching fish. Their houses are raised above the ground. [When constructing them] they refrain from joining planks and restrict the building to the length of a [single] piece of timber. When they wish to retire, they spread their bedding side by side. They squat on their haunches when taking their meals. The kitchen and all its appurtenances is [also] raised [on the stilts]. The goods [used in trading at Malacca] are blue and white porcelain, coloured beads, coloured taffetas, gold and silver. In the seventh year of Yung-lo (1409), the imperial envoy, the eunuch Cheng-Ho, and his lieutenants conferred [on the ruler], by Imperial command, a pair of silver seals, and a head-dress, girdle and robe. They also set up a tablet [stating that] Malacca had been raised to the rank of a kingdom, but at first Siam refused to recognize it. In the thirteenth year [of Yung-lo] (1415), the ruler [of Malacca, desirous of] showing his gratitude for the Imperial bounty, crossed the ocean and, accompanied by his consort and son, came to court with tribute. The Emperor rewarded him [appropriately], whereupon [the ruler of Malacca] returned to his [own] country.

Translated from the 星槎勝覽校註, edited and annotated by Feng Ch'eng-chün 馮承鈞 (Shanghai, 1954), pp. 19–20. This passage has also been translated by W. W. Rockhill on pp. 117–8 of the work cited on page 324.

EPILOGUE

THE story that emerges from these pages is not wholly clear and many perplexities are unresolved. A number of important place-names such as *Pien-tou*, *Ch'ien-mai-pa-t'a*, *Jih-lo-t'ing*, *Hsia-lai-wu*, *Sha-li-fo-lai-an*, *Konkonagara*, *Tharra*, *Kalonka*, *Vaḷaippandūṛu*, *Meviḷimbaṅgam*, *Ṣanfīn* and *Māiṭ*, cannot be identified. Others such as *Chü-li*, *Ch'ih-t'u*, *Tan-tan*, *P'an-p'an*, *Teng-liu-mei*, *Takola* and *Sabara* can only be assigned regional locations. Still others, notably *Fo-lo-an*, *Kalāh*, *Pamgoray* and *Callnansey* must be regarded as tentative identifications. Yet enough is certain for us to be sure of one thing, namely, that in the early period civilization was restricted to the northern tracts of the peninsula. To denote this phase of history I have coined the term Isthmian Age, but it might equally well have been called the Age of the City-State. From the extreme north of the peninsula southwards to Kědah almost every coastal plain and river estuary supported a focally situated, palisaded—or sometimes walled—settlement. Government was in varying degrees theocratic, based on Indian conceptions of kingship. Indian ritual pervaded the court in almost unadulterated form but as far as we can tell played no part in the life of the populace, which consisted mostly of padi-farmers and collectors of jungle produce. In some of the west coast states there were also mining communities of considerable size, while several of the larger and more prosperous had attracted cosmopolitan trading groups from countries as far afield as the Middle East.

Although some of these city-states such as Kědah, *Kalāh*, *Takola* and *Langkasuka* achieved prosperity and a fame which carried their names beyond the Indian Ocean and the China Sea, and although the seed of federation may have been present in the quintuple organization of *Tun-sun*, there is no record of one state ever bringing the whole isthmian tract under its rule. The terrain of this region is broken into fragments by a series of mountain spines running obliquely to the lie of the coasts, so that the padi-land within the territory of any state was never extensive. In some instances it was further restricted by the swampy nature of much of the lowland, for large-scale reclamation was far beyond the

technical competence of these early peoples. In such circumstances wealth accrued from trading activities such as feature prominently in the accounts of *Tun-sun*, *Kalāh* and Kědah, and territorial ambition sought its fulfilment in control of the sea rather than of the land. That boundaries were constantly fluctuating and states undergoing a continual process of absorption and fission is apparent from our texts. *Tun-sun* constituted a confederation of five units and it is not unlikely that *Langkasuka* extended from shore to shore at least once, but of one isthmian state establishing a permanent hegemony over its neighbours there is no evidence whatever. Even Kědah at the apogee of its power as one—and perhaps the more important—node of the *Śrī Vijayan* thalassocracy, could extend the boundary of that empire only as far north as Kra. Beyond that point stretched the southern marches of Khmer dominion. In this political vacuum such qualified unity as occasionally occurred was invariably imposed from without. *Fu-nan*, in an endeavour to control the trans-peninsular trade-routes, brought the isthmus under her rule, but never again until the coming of the T'ai in the thirteenth century, did the isthmus form one political unit. The collapse of the Funanese empire was followed by a period of independence when the kingdom of *Chen-la* was occupied with matters other than southward expansion, but for five hundred years after the eighth century, the isthmus was divided between the continental power of the Khmers in the north and the sea-state of *Śrī Vijaya* in the south. With the decline of the latter in the thirteenth century the T'ai raided southwards and established a suzerainty which has lasted until the present day.

While this historical development was unfolding in the north, the south remained a land of forest and swamp, inhabited by aborigines and penetrated by miners in search of tin and gold. Not until the beginning of the fourteenth century is there incontrovertible evidence of civilization in the south. Then *Temasek* was founded on Singapore Island. Although it was primarily a religious foundation, there is reason to think that it was sited strategically in relation to the newly discovered Keppel Harbour passage round the southern end of the peninsula. With the founding of Malacca a hundred years or so later we come to the first important settlement in the south, but Malacca grew wealthy by shrewdly exploiting her commanding position on the spice route rather than by developing the resources of her own immediate hinterland, and the interior

of the peninsula remained virtually unknown until the nineteenth century. Already by the fifteenth century the isthmian tract had lost its pre-eminence. In relation to the developing commerce of the Archipelago it occupied a peripheral position, and its ports declined until in the seventeenth century the Tenasserim River route again came into prominence as a channel for European trade with Siam. In the southern tracts, on the other hand, the quickening of commercial activity in the Archipelago led to the rise of a series of small ports on both the east and west coasts of the peninsula. By the Majapahit period their names, if nothing else, were known to Prapañca, and Tomé Pires listed over a dozen, excluding Malacca and the pirate lair on Jimaja.

Such is the story of the Golden Khersonese before the coming of the European. Much of the detail of these early landscapes is now lost, and many questions we should like to ask must perforce remain unanswered. Only occasionally can we pierce the curtain of obscurity and glimpse the Kělantan peasant of the fourteenth century double-cropping his fields, the miner panning for gold on the *Khrysoanas* River, the merchantman from Oman sounding her way through the shoaling Sea of *Kalāh-bār*, the Buddhist monk in *Kaṭāha*, sustained by his faith during the rigours of the voyage to the Holy Land, or the Chinese envoy graciously accepting the homage of the brahmans of the Red-Earth Kingdom. It is doubtful if this story will ever be in any sense complete. It is unlikely that much new textual evidence will become available for the period before A.D. 1000. Perhaps the best hope is archæology, though this discipline is faced with formidable difficulties arising mainly from climate which destroys, from erosion which both expunges and entombs, and from equatorial vegetation which enshrouds. And of course archæological discoveries in either the Indo-Chinese Peninsula or the Archipelago may have far-reaching results in our interpretation of Malayan history. But, though progress will undoubtedly be made, it does seem that much information has been lost beyond recall. As the historian considers the fragments of ancient texts and scanty archæological remains on which he must base his conclusions he cannot but sympathize with the author of the *Malay Annals* who ended each chapter with the formula

God alone knoweth the truth: to him do we return.

والله أعلم بالصواب، وإليه المرجع والمآب.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Ars Asiatica (Paris).
ABIA	Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology (Leiden).
ACIO	Actes du—Congrès International des Orientalistes.
AG	Annales de Géographie (Paris).
AMG	Annales du Musée Guimet (Paris).
AS	Asiatische Studien: Zeitschrift der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Asienkunde (St. Gallen).
ASI	Archæological Survey of India (Calcutta).
BCAI	Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de l'Indo-Chine (Paris).
BEFEO	Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient (Hanoi).
BKI	Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië ('s Gravenhage).
BMFJ	Bulletin de la Maison Franco-Japonaise (Tokyo).
BRM	Bulletin of the Raffles Museum, Series B (Singapore).
BSG	Bulletin de la Société de Géographie.
BSL	Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris (Paris).
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies (London).
Burkill	I. H. Burkill, *A dictionary of the economic products of the Malay Peninsula*, 2 vols. (London, 1935).
CHI	The Cambridge History of India, vols. i and ii (Cambridge).
ChR	The China Review; or, Notes and Queries on the Far East (Hong Kong).

CQ	The Classical Quarterly (London).
CRCIG	Comptes Rendus du Congrès International de Géographie.
EA	*Etudes Asiatiques publiées à l'occasion du vingt-cinquième anniversaire de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1925). Edited by G. Van Oest.
EI	*Encyclopædia of Islam, a dictionary of the geography, ethnography and biography of the Muhammadan peoples*, 4 vols. (Leiden, 1913). New edition, 1954, in progress.
EInd.	Epigraphia Indica.
FCWA	Fu-chien Wen-hua 福建文化 (Fuchou).
FEQ	The Far Eastern Quarterly; review of Eastern Asia and the adjacent Pacific islands (Wisconsin, New York). After September 1956 known as The Journal of Asian Studies.
FMNHP/AS	Publications of the Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Series (Chicago).
GA	Geografiska Annaler (Stockholm).
GZ	Geographische Zeitschrift (Leipzig).
HA	Högskolas Årsskrift (Göteborg).
HAn.	The Historical Annual (Singapore).
HH	Han-hiue 漢學, Bulletin du Centre d'Etudes sinologiques de Pékin (Peking).
HJAS	Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies. Cambridge, Mass.
Hobson-Jobson	H. Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson: a glossary of colloquial Anglo-Indian words and phrases, and of kindred terms, etymological, historical, geographical and discursive* (London, 1903).
I.	Indonesië ('s Gravenhage).
IAL	Indian Art and Letters (London); later Art and Letters, India and Pakistan; later Art and Letters, the Journal of the Royal India, Pakistan and Ceylon Society.

IG	De Indische Gids; Staat en letterkundig Maandschrift (Amsterdam).
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly (Calcutta).
IM	Imago Mundi (Stockholm).
JA	Journal Asiatique (Paris).
JASB	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta).
JBRS	Journal of the Burma Research Society (Rangoon).
JChBRAS	Journal of the Shanghai Literary and Scientific Society; later Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (Shanghai).
JFMSM	Journal of the Federated Malay States' Museums (Taiping and Kuala Lumpur).
JGIS	Journal of the Greater India Society (Calcutta).
JIA	Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia (Singapore).
JMBRAS	Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (Singapore).
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (London).
JS	Journal des Savants (Paris).
JSBRAS	Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (Singapore).
JSS	Journal of the Siam Society (Bangkok).
JSSS	Journal of the South Seas Society (Singapore).
MAO	Mémoires de l'Athénée orientale (Paris).
MHJ	The Malayan Historical Journal. Journal of the Malayan Historical Society (Kuala Lumpur). From July 1957 Malaya in History.
MJTG	The Malayan Journal of Tropical Geography (Singapore). After April 1958 The Journal of Tropical Geography.
MKNAW	Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandsche Akademie van Wetenschappen (Amsterdam).
MLG	Malayan Library Group News Letter (Singapore).
MPI	*Miscellaneous Papers Relating to Indo-China*, 2 vols. (London, 1887). Edited by E. Rost.

MR	Madras Review (Madras).
MRM	Memoirs of the Raffles Museum (Singapore).
MSIRA	Mémoires de la Société impériale russe d'Archéologie (St. Petersbourg).
MTB	Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko (Tokyo).
NMA	Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques (Paris).
ON	Orientalia Neerlandica.
S.	Le Semeur (Pondichéry).
SII	South Indian Inscriptions.
S.-Z.	Shigaku-Zasshi: Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft (Tokyo) [Japanese text. Tables of contents in German until 1939, in English from 1951 onwards].
TAPhS	Transactions of the American Philosophical Society (Philadelphia).
TBG	Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (Batavia, 's Gravenhage).
TG	Tōyō Gakuhō: Reports of the Investigations of the Oriental Society 東洋學報 (Tokyo) [Japanese text].
TK	The Tōyōshi-Kenkyū: the Journal of Oriental Researches (Kyoto) [Japanese text with English title page].
TP	T'oung Pao 通報. Archives concernant l'histoire, les langues, la géographie, l'ethnographie et les arts de l'Asie orientale (Leiden).
UCR	University of Ceylon Review (Colombo).
VBG	Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Konsten en Wetenschappen (Batavia, 's Gravenhage).
VG	H. Kern, *Verspreide Geschriften onder zijn Toesicht Verzameld*, 15 vols. ('s Gravenhage, 1913–36).
VKAWA	Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afdeeling Letterkunde (Amsterdam).

VKBG	Verhandelingen van het Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.
ZE	Zeitschrift für vergleichende Erdkunde (Magdeburg).
ZGEB	Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin (Berlin).

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